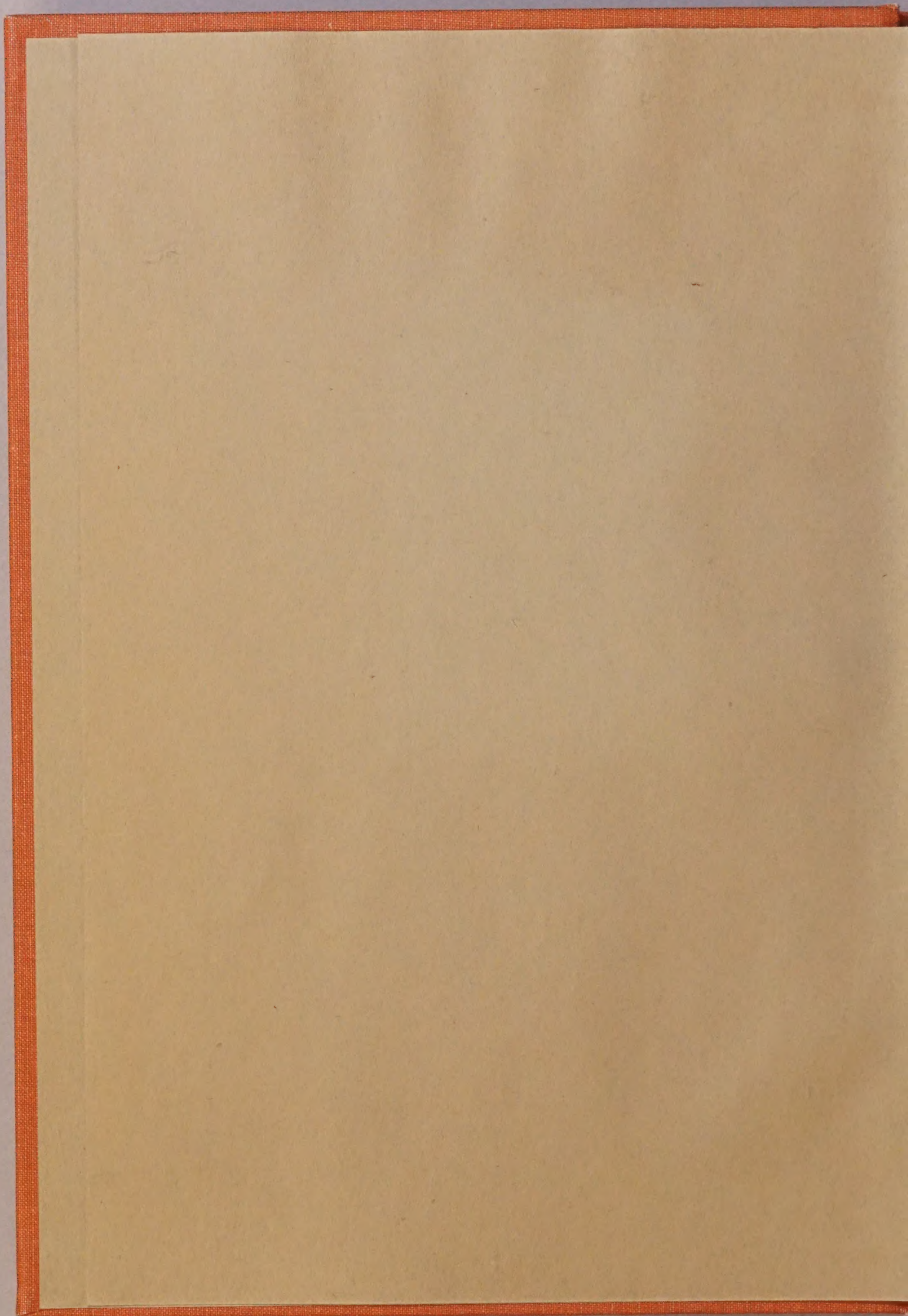




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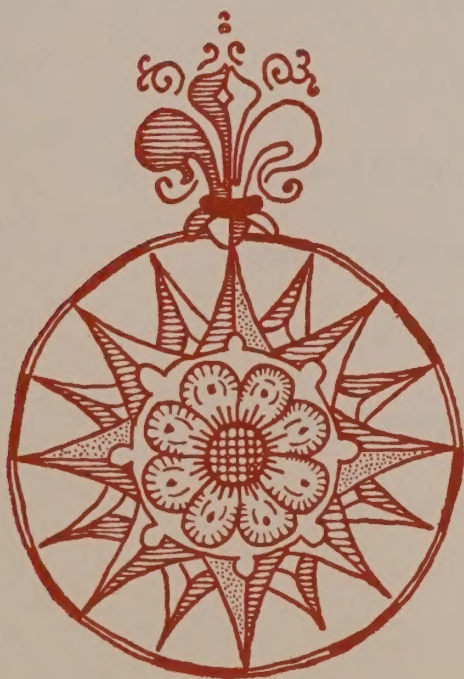


**THE
BLATHWAYT
ATLAS**

COMMENTARY

A
BROWN
UNIVERSITY
BICENTENNIAL
PUBLICATION

THE BLATHWAYT ATLAS



VOLUME II · COMMENTARY

JEANNETTE D. BLACK

Curator of Maps, the John Carter Brown Library

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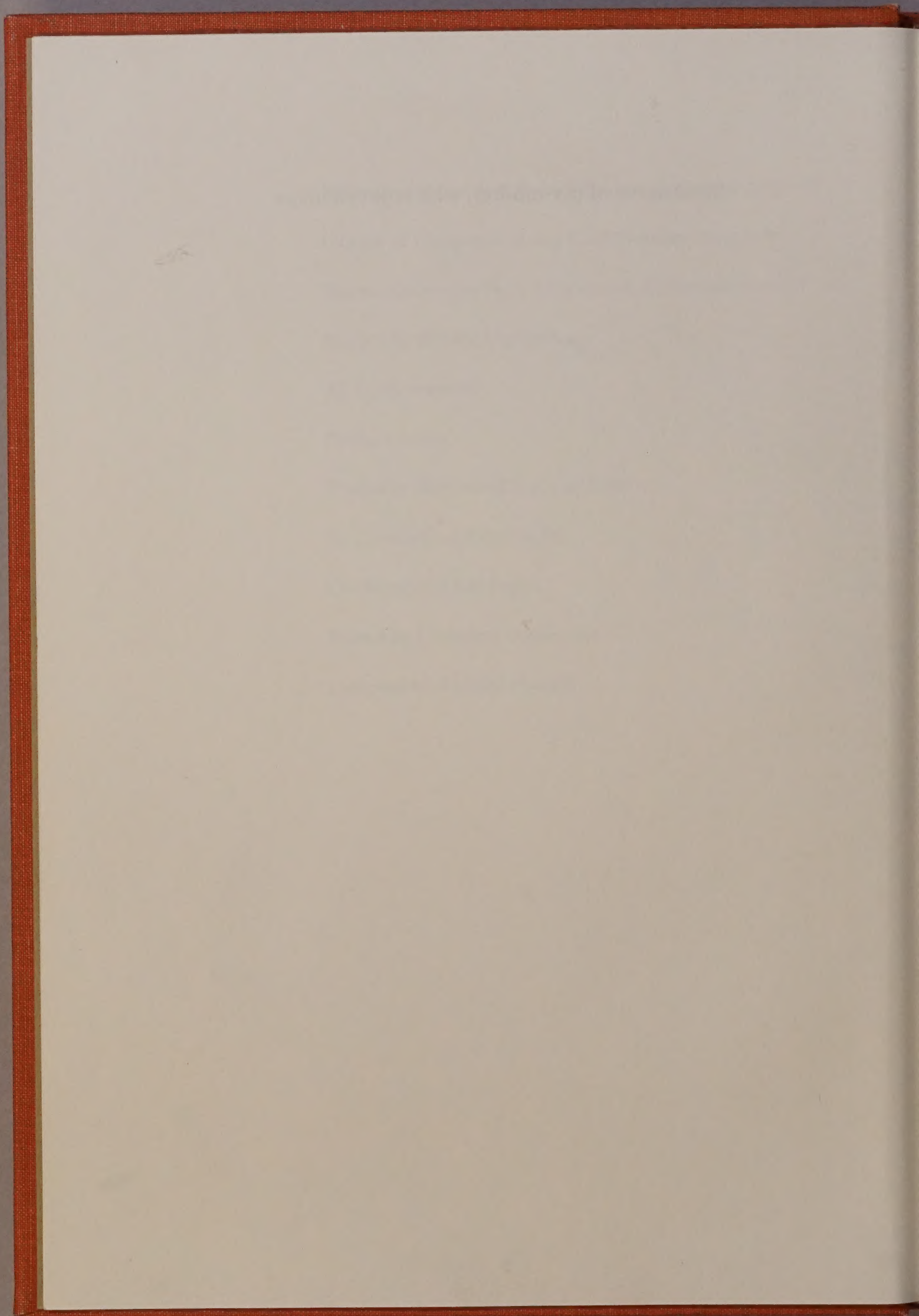
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Designed by Richard Hendel

In memory of my mother, who enjoyed maps

1991/99
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Preface

The commentaries on the individual maps are designed to be read in conjunction with the full-sized facsimiles in *The Blathwayt Atlas, Volume I: The Maps*. It has not, therefore, been considered necessary to include extensive descriptions. Since, however, the reverse sides of the maps are not reproduced, any inscriptions on them are given in full. Watermarks have been noted and identified whenever possible.

The locations of other copies of the engraved maps are based on information received from the British Museum, the Library of Congress, the William L. Clements Library, and Yale University Library, supplemented by listings in print. Beyond these collections an additional search for copies has been made only in the case of the rarest maps. The French and Dutch maps are to be found in many libraries that have collections of early maps, and locations for them have, therefore, been omitted.

Very few of the maps in the atlas carry dates. In every case an attempt has been made to ascertain the date of publication or, in the case of the manuscripts, of copying, as well as the date and circumstances of survey or compilation. The primary purpose of the commentaries has been to place the maps in their historical context. Whenever possible, individual maps have been related to the activities of the Lords of Trade, in some cases to specific discussions or incidents.

In the beginning it was decided that the research on the individual maps should be limited to published sources. This policy was necessary to avoid extensive and time-consuming generalized research in widely scattered manuscript archives, but it has been considered a guideline rather than an inhibiting rule. When it was possible to follow up specific leads, manuscripts have been used, and the information added in this way has been so useful as to make it apparent that further research in unprinted archives would undoubtedly result in additional knowledge concerning the maps and their various backgrounds. For this reason the commentaries are presented as points of departure for further study, which may better be

carried on by scholars concentrating their work on the specific localities covered by the maps.

Because of the great variety in form, scope, and significance of the maps, the discussions of them vary considerably in extent and emphasis. Special treatment has naturally been given to the manuscript maps, but just as much attention has been necessary for many of the printed maps. Some of these have not heretofore been studied to any extent, and in other cases their significance has not been recognized.

The late Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, Lawrence C. Wroth, first envisioned the publication of the Blathwayt Atlas facsimile and the commentaries to accompany the maps. During his retirement he followed the project with keen interest, and in its early stages we could always rely upon advice based on his wisdom and long experience. I hope the final result would have pleased him. The essay he wrote twenty years ago on the William Penn map of Pennsylvania has been included as the commentary to Map 15, substantially without revision.

The other members of the Brown University Bicentennial Publications Committee who had the foresight to accept and sponsor Mr. Wroth's proposal for reproducing the atlas were: David A. Jonah, chairman; the late James B. Hedges; Robert W. Kenny; the late W. Easton Louttit; John R. Workman; and W. Chesley Worthington.

The present Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, Thomas R. Adams, has seen the project through to completion, and I am grateful for his understanding and patience as well as for his ability to cut gordian knots when occasion demanded. To him also go my thanks for giving me the responsibility for the library's map collection, thus allowing me for the past thirteen years to concentrate in a congenial if difficult field.

In 1961 when the late R. A. Skelton, at that time Superintendent of the Map Room in the British Museum, first saw the atlas, his enthusiasm for the maps and for the idea that they might be published almost caused him to miss a train. We were fortunate that he later consented to act as adviser in the

preparation of the commentaries. He had read first drafts of a third of them before his tragic death in a car accident in December 1970.

Many librarians in other institutions have given me much needed and appreciated help: Dr. Helen Wallis, Superintendent of the Map Room of the British Museum (now the British Library), and her staff; Dr. Walter W. Ristow, Chief of the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress, and members of his staff; the past and present curators of maps at the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan; Mr. Alexander O. Vietor, Curator of Maps at the Yale University Library; Mlle. Monique de la Roncière of the Bibliothèque Nationale; Mr. John Alden of the Boston Public Library; Mr. D. Pepys Whiteley of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge; and members of the library and research staffs of the Public Record Office, the National Maritime Museum, the Huntington Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., the Institute of Jamaica, and the Bermuda Archives Office.

A number of generous scholars have contributed to the completion of the project by replying to a wide variety of questions, by reading parts of the manuscript in the light of their special knowledge, or by allowing the use of material from their own unpublished notes: Professor Thomas R. Smith of the University of Kansas; Professor Coolie Verner of the University of British Columbia; Professor Richard S. Dunn of the University of Pennsylvania; Professor William P. Cumming of Davidson College, North Carolina; Professor Louise Hall of Duke University; Dr. Ir. Cornelis Koeman of the University of Utrecht; Professor Carl Bridenbaugh of Brown University; and Professor and Mrs. David B. Quinn of the University of Liverpool.

Grants from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society in 1964 and from the Brown University Faculty Research Reserve Fund in the same year made possible visits to the British Museum and other European libraries.

My friends of the present, and recent, staff of the John Carter Brown Library have all helped me directly or in-

directly. I am especially grateful to Mrs. Raymond N. Watts for her suggestions in the revision of the text and to Mrs. John F. Garin for her expert manuscript typing.

Simple acknowledgment of the help I have received seems hardly adequate. I share the feeling of Robert Morden, a London mapman of the seventeenth century, who wrote in the preface to his book of 1688, "I have indeed laid my building upon other mens foundations; for who in this Subject can do otherways?"

June 1973

Abbreviations

- Add. Ms. 9767 "Entries Relating to the Establishment & Accompts of the Committee for Trade and Plantations. Vol: 1st. [1675-1688]," British Museum Additional Manuscript 9767. Photostats in the Library of Congress. (References are by date of entry.)
- BMMs Maps British Museum. *Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Plans and of the Topographical Drawings in the British Museum*. 3 vols. London, 1844-61. Reprint. Brussels, 1962.
- BMPM British Museum. *Catalogue of Printed Maps Charts and Plans*. 15 vols. London, 1967.
- Crown Collection Archer Butler Hulbert. *The Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps*. Series 1-3. Cleveland, 1904-16.
- CSP/AWI Great Britain, Public Record Office. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*. Vols. 5, 7, 9-12, *America and West Indies*, covering the years 1661-88. London, 1880-99. (References are by date and number.)
- Cumming, Southeast William P. Cumming. *The Southeast in Early Maps with an Annotated Check List of Printed and Manuscript Regional and Local Maps of Southeastern North America during the Colonial Period*. Chapel Hill, 1962.
- Heawood Edward Heawood. *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*.

- Monumenta Chartae Papyraceae Historiam Illustrantia, no. 1. Hilversum, the Netherlands, 1950.
- Jacobsen, *Blathwayt* Gertrude A. Jacobsen. *William Blathwayt, a Late Seventeenth Century English Administrator*. New Haven, 1932.
- Koeman, *Atlantes* Cornelis Koeman. *Atlantes Neerlandici: Bibliography of Terrestrial, Maritime and Celestial Atlases and Pilot Books, Published in the Netherlands Up to 1880*. 5 vols. Amsterdam, 1967-71.
- Phillips, *Atlases* P. Lee Phillips. *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress*. 7 vols. Washington, 1909-73. Vols. 5-7 compiled by Clara Egli LeGear.
- Sabin Joseph Sabin et al. *Bibliotheca Americana: A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time*. 29 vols. New York, 1868-1936.
- Term Catalogues* Edward Arber, ed. *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709, A.D. . . . Edited from the Very Rare Quarterly Lists of New Books and Reprints . . . Issued by the Booksellers, etc. of London, by Professor Edward Arber*. 3 vols. London, 1903-6.
- Wing Donald G. Wing. *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America . . . 1641-1700*. 3 vols. New York, 1945-51.

INTRODUCTION



The Lords of Trade and Their Maps

The first century of colonial activity by the English resulted in an enormous expansion of their territorial interests. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert took possession of Newfoundland in the name of Queen Elizabeth, although he stayed there only two weeks. In the years immediately following, Sir Walter Raleigh tried to establish a colony in what is now North Carolina, but his efforts produced no permanent settlement. A hundred years after these tentative beginnings, however, there were numerous English colonies, many of them flourishing, not only along the Atlantic seaboard of North America from Newfoundland to South Carolina, but also on a number of islands in the West Indies. There were settlements, though most of them were temporary, on the northern coast of South America. Trade extended even farther than colonization and was not easily separated from it. There were the possibilities of a northwest passage, and even a northeast passage was still thought by some to be feasible. There was the African trade in slaves and tropical products, and there was activity in India, although only the port of Bombay was an English territorial possession, having been part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, the Portuguese princess who was married to Charles II. In 1668 Englishmen went to Hudson Bay to trade for furs. In the following year they set out to investigate the Strait of Magellan, an alternative route to the East, hoping for trade with the Spaniards of Chile along the way.

This impressive expansion of interests necessarily led to an attempt to control, direct, and administer the diverse areas where Englishmen were living and trading. The seventeenth century saw the beginnings of an imperial administration slowly take shape, experiment following experiment.

The expansion overseas could hardly be understood by those at home without the use of maps. They were necessary for the colonizers, the traders, and above all for those in the

royal government who sought to direct the growth of the widely scattered and heterogeneous colonies. Only through maps could administrators hope to visualize the regions they were dealing with; a lack of maps could in some cases lead to disastrous decisions. Of course this was long before the day of truly scientific mapping, before Halley and Harrison, and several generations before Captain Cook. Great governmentally sponsored surveys utilizing new science and technology were unimagined in the seventeenth century. The English got their maps and charts where they could: from the Dutch, who were far ahead of them in overseas maritime activity and trade as well as in the production of maps; from the French, whose geographers were the best in Europe; sometimes from captains of English vessels, most of whom were responsible to private employers rather than to any governmental agency; from promoters of colonies, some of whom were imaginative enough to understand the value of maps to their projects; and occasionally from the colonies themselves, where maps were sometimes produced when there were capable individuals on the scene and the geographical problems were of manageable proportions.

The maps used by English colonial administrators of the seventeenth century have survived in a much smaller proportion than is usual with archives in written form. The historian dealing with recent events may expect to find maps uniformly preserved along with other documents, but he cannot expect this convenience for earlier centuries. The earlier the period, the more often the survival of maps has depended on chance and on the circumstances of individuals rather than on systematic governmental preservation of records. In England in the second half of the seventeenth century the keeping of certain kinds of material for historical record was recognized as important, but systems for preservation were still rudimentary. Consequently, a collection of maps known to have been used by a colonial administrator of the 1680s is rare, and it is as likely to be found in the surviving papers of an individual as in an official institution.

Such a collection is the volume now known as the Blathwayt Atlas, which consists of thirteen manuscript and thirty-five printed maps, from various sources, that were in use in

the office of the Committee of the Lords of Trade and Plantations. It survived in the library of their secretary, William Blathwayt, at Dyrham Park, in Gloucestershire. The atlas is a substantial volume, 57.2 by 36.2 centimeters, bound in brown undressed calf with blind-tooled panels on the front and back covers and a paper label on the spine, lettered in ink, "Islands / Plantation / Mapps." It was a "guard book," composed not of full-sized leaves but of narrow stubs, called guards, to which maps or similar materials could be pasted. Some of the unused stubs still show deckle edges. "A List of Maps as they ly bound in this Book" is on a separate sheet of paper, folded, and attached along the fold to a guard, and each individual map was inserted in the same way. In this kind of book maps could be easily added—ten were added after the "List" was made up—and they could conveniently be removed when they were needed as separate pieces, as six of them were.¹ Inside the front cover is a pressmark, "A/no 4," similar in style to those found in other volumes from the Blathwayt library at Dyrham Park.²

The existence of the volume first became known to collectors when it was described in the auction catalogue of Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge for 25 April 1910, as lot 82.³ Bernard Quaritch, the successful bidder, listed the atlas in July of the same year (catalogue 295, item 106). On 10 October he sent this catalogue with a letter to George Parker Winship, then librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, calling attention to the maps and offering to send the volume for inspection. The decision to buy it was made in May 1911, and the maps were mentioned briefly by Winship in his *Annual Report* for 1911–12. In the *Report* for the following year the thirteen manuscripts were included in a "List of Manuscript Maps 1511–1781" as part of the library's holdings.

The maps in the atlas cover all the areas that were of concern to the Lords of Trade, sometimes in detail, sometimes only in broad outline. The majority of the maps, as might be expected, deal with the North American mainland and the West Indies. Less completely covered are South America and Africa. Asia is represented only by Map 43, a manuscript chart of Bombay Harbor.

The atlas contains English, French, and Dutch maps, and the variety of form is striking. There are engraved maps in

1. There is no way of establishing precisely when these changes were made in the contents of the atlas, but suggestions as to the identity of the maps removed are made in the commentary on the manuscript list of maps.

2. Similar marks are found in several books in the John Carter Brown Library, including *The Laws of Jamaica* of 1683 and 1684, and a copy of John Seller's *Atlas Maritimus*, which has the pressmark "A/no 7" and contains a manuscript list of maps in the same hand as the list in the Blathwayt Atlas. This was acquired in 1913 from Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, and had been lot 79 in the catalogue of Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge for 20–21 November 1912. The marks indicate that the two volumes probably stood close together on the same shelf. Books with Blathwayt marks have also been identified in the Huntington and the William L. Clements libraries.

3. The catalogue also included a remarkable group of seventeenth and eighteenth century materials, chiefly manuscript, belonging to the Blathwayt family of Dyrham Park. Printed books from this library were sold at another auction by the same firm on 20–21 November 1912. The most recent sale of Blathwayt material from Dyrham was at Sotheby's on 9–10 February 1970, the material consisting of a miscellaneous group that has been referred to by

historians as the "Porlock Mss." When William Blathwayt died in 1717, his library and papers were divided between his son William, who inherited Dyrham Park, and his daughter Anne. She was the wife of Edward Southwell, son of Sir Robert, Blathwayt's long-time friend and predecessor in the Plantations Office. Much of the material from King's Weston, the Southwell estate in Gloucestershire, was acquired by Sir Thomas Phillipps in the nineteenth century and has been dispersed at numerous auctions, beginning in 1908. Many of these manuscripts are now in the British Museum, and there are also important groups at the Huntington Library, the Library of Congress, and Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

4. Brief descriptions of the atlas and its contents were included in Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 78, and in Jeannette D. Black, "The Blathwayt Atlas: Maps Used by British Colonial Administrators in the Time of Charles II," *Imago Mundi* 22 (1968): 20-23.

black and white or with color added by hand, some printed on vellum. Two of the engraved maps were published with a printed text attached. Most of the manuscripts are colored and decorated, and most of them are on vellum, the durable material then preferred for permanent records, but one is a utilitarian pen-and-ink copy.

The English printed maps are the product of a dozen London publishers of the period. Some of these men were also cartographers and engravers, and several were proprietors of shops that sold maps along with compasses, nautical instruments, books, prints, stationery, and other items. Almost all these English printed maps are of the 1670s and early 1680s, and they represent as a group the beginnings of an attempt by London publishers to become independent of the Dutch, who dominated the cartographic trade to such an extent that their charts set the standard even for the coasts of England. As new colonies were settled by the English, however, information was needed that the Dutch cartographers could not be expected to provide. The mapping of colonial areas, therefore, played a significant role in stimulating independent work by the London map publishers. Several of the maps in the atlas show more or less clumsy attempts to insert new information on maps borrowed from the Dutch. Others are entirely new, based on material not available from any Dutch source.⁴

William Blathwayt, in whose library the atlas survived, was connected with the Plantations Office from 1675 to 1696 and served thereafter as a member of the Board of Trade until 1710. He also held the closely related position of surveyor and auditor general of the plantation revenues from 1680 until his death in 1717. In addition, he was a clerk of the Privy Council, secretary at war, a secretary of state pro tem, and for many years a member of Parliament. Multiple office-holding was not unusual at the time, but it was relatively unusual for a man to give serious and continued personal attention to so many offices. Conscientious in carrying out his duties, Blathwayt seems to have liked to do much of his work himself and produced great masses of official letters and documents. Many of his papers passed on routinely to his suc-

cessors in office, but others he retained, especially those no longer of immediate current interest. When he died in 1717, the maps in the atlas were generally out of date, and it is not surprising that he did not hand it over to his successor as auditor general, Horatio Walpole (1678-1757), whose interest in the post was chiefly the income it produced. When the office was created in 1680, with Blathwayt as the first incumbent, it had been of considerable practical importance, but political, economic, and administrative changes had taken place in the meantime, and the position had evolved into "a valuable colonial sinecure."⁵

The sheer volume of documents left by Blathwayt from his various offices and the dispersion of many of them created problems for his biographer, Gertrude Jacobsen, in her pioneering study of his administrative career.⁶ She found it difficult to assess his importance in the history of the colonies and leaves the impression that his influence was rather limited. More recent historians have been unable to agree on this point. One has charged that she made her subject appear more important than he was and maintains that Blathwayt was merely a docile tool of agents more powerful than himself. Another, discerning a forest among the trees, has characterized him as "the chief technician of an adolescent empire" and concluded that "more than any other individual of his time, perhaps of any time, William Blathwayt was the bureaucratic pivot on which imperial administration turned."⁷

Blathwayt was well prepared for his career at Whitehall. He was a nephew of Thomas Povey, a government official involved in the colonies both in the course of his duties as a servant of the crown and as a private investor. Povey took charge of his nephew's education, which included an excellent grounding in languages, legal training in the Middle Temple, and later the grand tour. Through his uncle's influence Blathwayt obtained diplomatic appointments, one of them as a clerk to Sir William Temple, ambassador to the Netherlands. During the four years he spent at The Hague, one of the young man's unofficial activities was to search the bookstores for maps and books for his uncle as well as for Sir Joseph Williamson, later one of the secretaries of state.⁸

5. Romney Sedgwick, *The House of Commons 1715-1754* (London, 1970), 2: 509.

6. William Blathwayt, *a Late Seventeenth Century English Administrator* (New Haven, 1932).

7. Joseph E. Illick, "The Pennsylvania Grant: A Re-evaluation," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October 1962, p. 393; Stephen Saunders Webb, "William Blathwayt, Imperial Fixer: From Popish Plot to Glorious Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., January 1968, pp. 3-21. Studies providing background information on English colonial administration of the period are: Charles M. Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622-1675*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 26, nos. 1, 2, 3 (Baltimore, 1908); Ralph P. Bieber, *The Lords of Trade and Plantations, 1675-1696* (Allentown, Pa., 1919), and "The British Plantation Councils of 1670-4," *English Historical Review* 40 (1925): 93-106; Arthur H. Basye, *The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations* (London, 1925); F. M. G. Evans, *The Principal Secretary of State: A Survey of the Office from 1558 to 1680* (Manchester, England, 1923); and Edward R. Turner, *The Privy Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1927-28).

8. Jacobsen, *Blathwayt*, p. 67.

When Blathwayt entered the Plantations Office in September 1675, at the age of twenty-six, he became part of a newly created administrative organization. Earlier in the year the king had placed colonial affairs under the supervision of a committee of the Privy Council, called the Committee of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and appointed Sir Robert Southwell, a clerk of the council, to be secretary of the committee. Established to take the place of earlier committees and select councils, this was the latest in a succession of experiments in colonial administration under Charles II. The most significant of the earlier bodies were the Council of Trade, an advisory group organized in 1668, and the Council for Plantations of 1670. In 1672 the two councils had been merged as the Council for Trade and Plantations under the presidency of Anthony Ashley Cooper, earl of Shaftesbury. The combined council's service was terminated in December 1674 by the revocation of its commission. The reason for this action probably had to do with Shaftesbury's fall from power the previous year, but it was also an economy measure, calculated to eliminate the rather substantial salaries of members of the council. Whatever the motive for the reorganization may have been, the successes and failures of all the early administrative bodies dealing with the colonies depended less on the form of their organization than on the capacities and interest, as well as the convenience, of the members.

The new committee organized in February 1675 was far from being a separate department of government, and it was not a radical departure from previous arrangements. It was chiefly a fact-finding and advisory body, reporting to the King in Council. The new secretary, Sir Robert Southwell, and other members of the committee, however, were conscious of the importance of obtaining and organizing the growing body of information about the colonies in order to provide a sound basis for their decisions and recommendations.

Southwell immediately began to organize what would now be called a reference library; it was to include books and maps as well as documents and charters relating to the colonies, which had heretofore been scattered in various offices of other agencies of government. His first step was to

obtain the papers and maps that had been used by the discontinued Council for Trade and Plantations, and the committee ordered that inquiries be made of three men who had been concerned with keeping the records of the councils, which apparently had had no permanent offices. They were Henry Slingsby, member of the earlier councils and secretary until 1672; John Locke, the philosopher and protégé of Shaftesbury, who had been the most recent secretary and treasurer of the combined council; and Dr. Benjamin Worsley, Locke's predecessor, a learned physician with extensive colonial interests, who had given up his position with the council in 1673. Locke appeared before the new committee on 18 March 1675, accounting for papers that had been turned over to him by Worsley but claiming "for globes and maps he never had any."⁹ There are no direct reports of the other two inquiries.

Both the Council for Plantations of 1670 and the merged council of 1672 had been charged with the duty of collecting maps. The 1670 council was instructed "by all Wayes and meanes . . . to procure exact Mapps, Platts or Charts of all and Every our said Plantations abroad, together with the Mapps and Descriptions of their respective Ports, Harbours, Forts, Bayes, Rivers with the Depth of their respective Channells comming in or going up, and the Soundings all along upon the said respective Coasts from place to place, and the same so had, you are carefully to Register and Keepe."¹⁰ Considering the state of development of cartography of the colonies at the time, this was a counsel of perfection. Probably it was in connection with this instruction that at one of the first meetings in 1670 the council called in officials of Trinity House, the association of Thames River pilots, and asked them to provide journals of ship captains trading to the plantations. The brethren, however, disclaimed any knowledge of such journals and any power to collect them. Although they promised to see what might be done in the future, there is no further reference to the subject in the minutes of the council.¹¹ The secretary was also authorized to purchase maps from a contingency fund, but no such expenditures are recorded unless they are hidden (as they may conceivably be) under the broad term "stationery ware."¹²

9. CSP/AWI, 12 March 1675, no. 464.

10. Andrews, *British Committees*, p. 122.

11. "Journal of the Council for Plantations from ye 3d of August 1670, to ye 20th of September 1672. As also of the Council for Trade & Plantacions from ye 13th: of October 1672 to ye 22th of Decber 1674,"

12 August 1670, p. 3. This manuscript, in the Library of Congress, is a fair copy, probably made for Sir Robert Southwell, and is item 8539 in the Phillipps Collection. See *Report of the Librarian of Congress* (1919), pp. 34-35, and catalogue of Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge for 24-27 June 1919, no. 522.

12. When John Evelyn first became a member of the Council for Plantations he attended a meeting, on 26 May 1671, held at a house belonging to the earl of Bristol, in a room that was "very large, and furnished with the Atlases, Mapps, Charts, Globes, &c" (*The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. E. S. de Beer [London, 1955], 3: 578). He does not say, or imply, however, that this impressive collection belonged to the council.

13. John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford, 1965).

14. The *Catalogus Librorum* of the auctioneers John Dunmore and Richard Chiswell for 13 May 1678 lists this "Collection of Maps," otherwise unknown, which sold for £1 5s. 6d. (Wing W-3612).

15. "Journal of the Council," 5 May 1671, p. 42.

16. R. A. Skelton, "The Hydrographic Collections of the British Museum," *Journal of the Institute of Navigation*, July 1956, p. 328.

References to maps in the council's minutes are infrequent and unfortunately vague, so that it is difficult to assess the interest of the members in maps and impossible to determine what maps may have been obtained. Probably Locke was entirely candid in his statement concerning globes and maps, and may have meant simply that he had none in his personal custody. The minutes of the council for the period of his secretaryship contain no references to maps. His own library, as reconstructed by modern scholars, included neither separate maps nor any made-up atlas.¹³ Dr. Worsley, Locke's predecessor, owned an extensive library, which was auctioned after his death in 1677. In addition to books on geographical subjects, he owned a volume described as a "Collection of Maps of England, &c and several Forreign Countrys."¹⁴ There is nothing, however, to indicate that either of these men kept with them any maps from the council.

A possible clue to what may have happened to some of the council's maps is an order "that Mr. Chiffinch be sent unto for a Mapp of New England, Determining ye Lines or Bounds thereof for the perusall of this Councill."¹⁵ William Chiffinch was in charge of the royal "closet," and his duties included the care of the king's jewels as well as his art collection. Since the Plantations Council reported to the king through one of the secretaries of state, an ex officio member, maps acquired by the council could have found their way to Chiffinch and through him to the private royal collection. If this happened, the maps would probably have remained there until the Whitehall fire of 1698; if any survived, they may have gone in later years to the British Museum as part of the Old Royal Library.¹⁶ There is no evidence that the three successive secretaries of the councils made any attempt to follow their instructions to "Register and Keepe" the maps they procured.

The most likely channel through which maps from the council could have been passed on directly to Sir Robert Southwell for the use of the newly organized committee in 1675 was Henry Slingsby. He had been actively engaged throughout in the work of the councils and had been secretary of the Council for Plantations from 1670 to 1672. After

he gave up the secretaryship, he supposedly turned over his documents to his successor, but months later he was still being asked to produce letters and papers. In the first year of the new committee's existence he was called in several times to brief the members on matters that had been discussed earlier by the councils. The first summary of the committee's expenditures shows payments to Slingsby to reimburse him for having certain records copied and also for one map, "which was his own."¹⁷ It may be justifiable to suspect that Slingsby turned over to Southwell other maps that were not his own but were in his possession as part of the council's rather casually maintained archives.

There is no question that the Lords of Trade as organized in 1675 evinced a new and serious interest in maps. When they ordered Slingsby's account to be inspected and settled, they complained of "a want of maps."¹⁸ At one of the early meetings, also, mariners' journals, the raw materials for possible new maps, were discussed. The committee resolved "to consider of a method of having journals from all merchant ships going long voyages; they proposed a continuation of Purchas' History with relation to his Majesty's Plantations, but seemed to mention some instruction given already in this matter by the Lords of the Admiralty, and for finding out a fit person for this undertaking."¹⁹ Like the earlier proposal of the council to the Trinity House pilots, this plan was impractical, and apparently no attempt was made to pursue it. The time had not yet come for official collections of voyages, however desirable they might be.

More practical for the purpose of enlarging the collection of maps was the committee's decision to add to the next circular letters to colonial governors an order that they send home maps of their territories.²⁰ Compliance with this demand, which was often repeated, was uneven and slow. It was, of course, a difficult requirement because of the extensive area of many of the colonies, the lack of surveyors competent to compile maps, and the expense. Governors were expected to pay for making the maps, and several of them referred to the cost of surveying as an excuse for delay.

From the beginning also the committee made purchases of printed maps and atlases and spent money to have copies

17. Add. Ms. 9767, 24 June 1676.

18. CSP/AWI, 16 September 1675, no. 672.

19. Ibid., 25 February 1676, no. 445. See also G. R. Crone and R. A. Skelton, "English Collections of Voyages and Travels, 1625-1846," especially pp. 67-73, in *Richard Hakluyt & His Successors*, Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., no. 93, ed. Edward Lynam (London, 1946).

20. CSP/AWI, 21 January 1676, no. 790.

21. Blathwayt Mss., Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., vol. 20.

22. Add. Ms. 9767, 25 March 1677, 24 June 1678, 25 March and 24 June 1683.

23. CSP/AWI, 30 July 1678, no. 769. G. D. Scull, of Oxford, contributed a list of "Books in the English Plantations Office Treating of New England" to the *New-England Historical and Genealogical Register* 38 (1884): 261-62, purporting to quote from a recorded list of twenty-five titles on New England in the Plantations Office, drawn up between 1676 and 1680. He gave no source for his information, and no one since that time seems to have located it. There are no separate maps on the list, although several of the books contain maps.

made of manuscript maps. There are numerous entries concerning maps in the summary of the committee's accounts, although most of the references are not specific enough to be very informative. In the early years Southwell sometimes specified individual purchases, some of which can be identified, but after Blathwayt became responsible for the office, the specific entries became less frequent. This does not mean, however, that the buying ceased. A good sum was always spent on "stationery ware," or office supplies, which included "pens, Ink, Sand, Wax, Tape and binding of books and Mapps," as well as other miscellaneous items. The information in the account book can be supplemented by a few, but very few, rough memoranda, bills, and receipts in Blathwayt's personal papers,²¹ most of which are of a later period than the atlas that bears his name. Dealers' names are mentioned only occasionally: John Seller in the early years, William and Thomas Nott, and, later, William Berry. In the 1690s the Plantations Office had some dealings with Philip Lea. There are charges for cleaning and mending maps, for coloring them, and for pasting them on cloth or on boards. Sometimes they were framed, and larger maps were fitted with rollers.

The library in the Plantations Office grew rather rapidly. When office space in Scotland Yard was first procured in 1676, a joiner was employed to make "four large presses for papers, books and Maps," and in 1678 another "Press for Books and Maps" was added. In 1683 the presses were enlarged, and later in the same year two more presses were made.²² In the meantime the office itself had expanded from two rooms to four. When Blathwayt returned from Paris in 1678 with books and maps he had bought for the use of the committee, it ordered that a list be made of all books, maps, and papers belonging to it and that a copy be placed in the "Council chest." Unfortunately such a list has not been located, and so it is impossible to know what maps were available to the committee in its earliest years.²³

The latest date for any of the maps in the Blathwayt Atlas is 1683, Map 1 having been advertised for sale in May of that year. There is an unsigned bill, probably from William Nott, dated 5 October 1683, for eighteen shillings for a "Book of

Gards folio bd Ruf Lether," which may possibly refer to the actual volume. The possibility is intriguing, but it need not be emphasized. Even if the maps were listed and put into the guard book a year or two later, they were all available in 1683.

The Blathwayt Atlas represents a sampling of the maps in the Plantations Office library, but it contains only separate maps of ordinary size. The Lords of Trade also had published atlases. They purchased John Seller's *Atlas Maritimus* and subscribed to the volumes of Moses Pitt's *English Atlas*, only four of which were ever completed; they had a Sanson atlas and an edition of the *Theatrum* of Ortelius; there was a volume called "The West India Atlas" in leather binding with gilt decoration, which must have been a bound collection of separate maps, no such atlas having been published as early as 1683. There were also large maps, both printed and manuscript. In 1676 John Seller was paid £1 10s. for "a large Chart in 16 sheets of the Maritime Coast of America."²⁴ Priced at less than 2s. a sheet, this may have been a printed production. At the same time Seller was paid for a chart and also a "Mercator's Map" of the West Indies at 15s. and 12s. respectively; from the prices, these must have been manuscripts. There were also maps, probably manuscript, of areas not specifically represented in the atlas, for instance, England, the Mediterranean, Gambia, Guinea, and unspecified areas in the East Indies.

Only a small percentage of individual items can be identified from the purchase records, but there is every indication that the collection was large and varied, and that its growth was the result of a consistent policy. Sir Robert Southwell was responsible for it in the beginning, and his influence was present during the first few years. After Blathwayt entered the office in September 1675, he gradually took over the work and later also the responsibility for the office. After 1680, when Southwell became ambassador to the Elector of Brandenburg, Blathwayt may be considered as solely responsible for the collecting of maps for the use of the committee. He seems to have followed the same methods as his predecessor.

The Lords of Trade continued for twenty-one years to be the chief organ of colonial administration. In 1696 a reorgani-

24. Add. Ms. 9767, 24 June 1676. This cannot be identified. In 1673 Joseph Moxon advertised a large map, 6' x 4½', *The English Empire in America* (*Term Catalogues*, 1: 141), no surviving copy of which is recorded.

25. "List of Maps, Plans, &c: Belonging to the Right Honble: the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. under the care of Francis Aegidius Assiotti, Draughtsman. 1780." Ms. in the Public Record Office, FE515 (IND 8315).

zation effected by William of Orange resulted in the creation of the Board of Trade, the immediate ancestor of the Colonial Office. A new secretary was appointed, and although Blathwayt was retained as a member of the new board, there were sweeping changes in the office. The establishment of the Board of Trade was the cause as well as the result of political controversy. There were hard feelings, and the change of personnel must have been accompanied by a change in working methods. The library, or at least the maps, did not become a part of the Board of Trade's office; in any case there is no evidence that it was transferred as a unit. Blathwayt retained the atlas and probably much more.

Some of the maps that belonged to the Board of Trade a century later are known from an unfinished list compiled in 1780 by Francis Aegidius Assiotti.²⁵ The completed section dealing with mainland North America from Hudson Bay to Georgia contains a wealth of eighteenth-century maps and plans, both printed and manuscript; but all the dated items are of the period after the establishment of the board in 1696. Only a handful of the undated maps can even be suspected of having belonged to the earlier Lords of Trade. Many of the maps in Assiotti's list are now in the Public Record Office, but apparently the majority of its maps of seventeenth-century colonial interest are from other sources, such as the Shaftesbury Papers, an acquisition of the nineteenth century. Some of the maps from the Lords of Trade have undoubtedly found their way at some time during the course of the past two hundred years to the British Museum and other repositories, but the original ownership of maps collected in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is very seldom a matter of record. The Blathwayt Atlas is apparently the only part of the map collection used by the Lords of Trade that has remained substantially intact as a unit, and for this reason it was considered essential to reproduce the entire atlas rather than merely a selection of the more important maps.

The Manuscript Maps and the Thames School

Of the thirteen manuscript maps in the Blathwayt Atlas, three are of individual and unrelated types (Maps 8, 30, and 38). The other ten (Maps 7, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, and 43) are decorative, colored maps or charts of a distinctive type that was produced in considerable quantity in seventeenth-century England. Although some of the cartographic work of this kind has long been known, the map makers responsible for it have received relatively little attention in print until recent years. A striking affinity of style and design characterizes the output of the entire group. There are numerous examples with signatures and addresses, and the dates they carry range from the early seventeenth century to the first quarter of the eighteenth. Recent research has established connections among the men who made this type of map, relationships of master and apprentice through several generations of "platmakers," as they were frequently called by their contemporaries.

A few of these map makers were first isolated as a group in 1959 by a Catalan scholar, Ernesto García Camarero.¹ Singling out five map makers whose signed works carry somewhat similar addresses ("At the Signe of the Platt"), he listed about thirty of their manuscripts as productions of an English school of decorative map making; the five were John Burston, Nicholas Comberford, John Thornton, Andrew Welch, and Joel Gascoyne.² A few years later Monique de la Roncière, in a paper delivered at the first Symposium on the History of Cartography in London, called attention to seventeen charts of the Indian and Chinese coasts by John Thornton, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.³ In the meantime Professor Thomas R. Smith had begun a study of the work of Nicholas Comberford that led to the discovery of information on other cartographers in the group and established a basis for their relationships and an explanation for the general resemblances characteristic of their work. He

1. "La Escuela cartográfica inglesa 'At the Signe of the Platt,'" *Publicaciones de la Real Sociedad Geográfica*, ser. B, no. 399 (Madrid, 1959), pp. 65-68.

2. Brief biographies of all but Welch were included in E. G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1954).

3. "Manuscript Charts by John Thornton, Hydrographer of the East India Company (1699-1701)," *Imago Mundi* 19 (1965): 46-50.

4. Professor Smith presented a paper, "Manuscript and Printed Sea Charts in Seventeenth Century London: The Case for the Thames School," at the William Andrews Clark Library, University of California at Los Angeles, on 4 March 1972. It will be published in a volume of essays on English cartography in the seventeenth century, title to be announced, by the University of California Press under the sponsorship of the Clark Library and edited by Norman J. W. Thrower. For earlier papers by Professor Smith, see "Nicholas Comberford, Seventeenth-Century Chart-Maker at the 'Signe of the Platt' in Ratcliff," abstract of paper read at the Conference on the History of Cartography, Brussels, 1969, in *Imago Mundi* 24 (1970): 95, and "The Work of Nicholas Comberford, Seventeenth-Century Chart-maker of London," *Abstracts of Papers of the 20th International Geographical Congress*, London, 1964, p. 25.

5. For instance, "in de Pascaart" was used in the Netherlands at Edam and also at Amsterdam by the cartographer and publisher Hessel Gerritsz as early as 1612, and he translated the address in his publications in other languages as "sub signo cartae nauticae" and "à l'enseigne de la carte nautique" (Marcel Destombes, *Catalogue des Cartes Nautiques Manuscrites sur Parchemin, 1300-1700. Cartes Hollandaises*.

discovered that twelve of the men who signed maps of this type were members of the Drapers' Company, with dates of apprenticeship extending from 1590 to 1719.⁴ One of the twelve was James Lancaster, who drew and signed Map 21 in the atlas in 1679.

This group of map makers constituted a school, analogous to a school of artists, identifiable by a common style; and the need of a suitable name for it was mentioned by the late R. A. Skelton in the course of a conversation with the author in 1964. "At the sign of the plat" in the addresses of the small group of map makers noticed by García Camarero did not provide an appropriate designation for the entire school and, in any case, was not in itself sufficiently distinctive, because similar signs were in use by map makers in other countries.⁵ The name of the originator of the style could properly have been applied to the school, but his identity was not then, nor is it now, certainly known. The suggested name "Thames school" met with Mr. Skelton's approval because of its simplicity and also because it implied a close association with the maritime activity of the port. All the known practitioners of the style lived near the Thames River, in the area near the Tower of London and in the hamlets to the east of it—Ratcliff, Shadwell, Wapping, Limehouse, Saint Katherine's, the Minories, Little Tower Hill, Virginia Street. One other address, recently added to the list, is just across the Thames in Rotherhithe.⁶ As yet, no members of the school have been identified who worked in other parts of London or in any of the other port cities of England.

The beginnings of the Thames school can be traced back to the last decade of the sixteenth century, although the earliest surviving signed and dated chart associated with the school is of 1614. John Daniell, its author, was apprenticed in 1590 to James Welsh (or Walsh) of the Drapers' Company, who is otherwise unknown. Charts of Spitzbergen and of the African coast made by Daniell are recorded as having been in use in 1612 and 1614,⁷ and there are surviving examples with various dates prior to his death in 1649. His apprentice, Nicholas Comberford, carried on the tradition until his death in 1670, and himself trained several apprentices. One of them, Andrew Welch, produced maps of his own, and he in

turn trained William Hack, one of the better-known members of the group, who worked up to the end of the century. Another of Comberford's apprentices was John Burston, who in 1656 acquired two apprentices. One of them was John Thornton, who made numerous manuscript maps and was also an engraver and publisher of maps and atlases. Several printed maps published by him alone or in partnership with others are in the Blathwayt Atlas (Maps 1, 4, 5, 10, 15, and 42). The other apprentice was James Lancaster, whose work is known through only one manuscript, Map 21 in the atlas, dated 1679. His address is not known, but he is known to have married Burston's daughter in 1661, two years before he finished his apprenticeship.⁸ Through William Hack and through apprentices of John Thornton, the style and tradition of the Thames school were continued to the end of the century and into the early years of the eighteenth.

Much of the work of these map makers, especially in the earlier years, consisted of what John Seller referred to as "Plain Charts, commonly call'd Plats" in his book *Practical Navigation*, first published in 1669. "These Charts are drawn upon Vellom," he wrote, "and pasted upon Boards." He described the construction of the network of rhumb lines normally found on portolan charts and went on, "Then is the Form of the Land poutrayed upon it, and set off with Colours, and also a Scale of Leagues to measure the Distances of Places. There is also a Meridian Line equally divided upon the Plat, which discovereth the Latitude of any Place."⁹ Detailed instructions on the making of plane (or plain) charts for navigators appeared first in English as early as 1561, in *The Arte of Navigation*, Richard Eden's translation from the Spanish of Martín Cortés.¹⁰ In the book is described the method of construction, as well as the tracing and finishing (or "garnishing") of vellum charts for the use of the mariner. Included also are directions for reducing and enlarging by squaring off with pencil lines that could be removed by using breadcrumbs. Although the methods of the Thames school seem to have been based originally on these directions, the lines for squaring were frequently not removed. In fact, they are found on all but one of the Thames school manuscripts in the Blathwayt Atlas. On the other hand, the carefully described

La Cartographie de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, 1593-1743 [Saigon, 1941], nos. 9, 12, 14, and 15, and p. 8). The only sign of this sort showing an area that can be identified was that of John Thornton, who usually referred to it as the sign of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

6. Helen Wallis and William P. Cumming, "Charts by John Friend Preserved at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, England," *Imago Mundi* 25 (1971): 81.

7. Hessel Gerritsz, *Histoire du Pays nommé Spitzberghe* (Amsterdam, 1613), p. 12; Samuel Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), 1: 528-29. There are notes on Daniell in the *Geographical Journal* 64 (1924): 351, and 65 (1925): 85.

8. Information on James Lancaster was first communicated to the late R. A. Skelton by Professor Coolie Verner and Mr. Tony Campbell.

9. The quotations are from the seventh edition, 1694 (Wing S-2483B).

10. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue* (London, 1926), no. 5798. Pt. 3, chap. 2, fols. lvi-lxi, is concerned with charts.

rhumb line construction of the portolan chart is not present on any of them, probably indicating that the copy supplied to the draftsman did not have it. Most of the directions in Eden's translation, except for this feature, could have been applied to the copying of almost any type of map, and it is known that the Thames school practitioners made copies to order, in larger or smaller scale, of whatever was supplied to them, regardless of whether or not it was a traditional navigation chart.

Professor Smith's study of the Thames school is based on the examination of 126 surviving originals. Of course these must have been only a small fraction of the output of the men who signed them, and there is no certainty that this fraction includes all the kinds of work they did. Thames school maps are scattered in many libraries in England, on the Continent, and in the United States, and it is likely that more may be found in the future. Emphasis has necessarily been on charts with signatures, because until the discovery of the map makers' names in the records of the Drapers' Company, the signatures and the addresses and dates that sometimes accompanied them were the only sources of information. There remains to be studied the problem of the charts that are recognizable as products of the Thames school but carry no signature or address to connect them with any of the known individual map makers.

Before it was realized that there was a school of map makers responsible for this type of map, it was customary to make attributions on the basis of general resemblances. In the nineteenth century this led cataloguers in the British Museum *Catalogue of Manuscript Maps*, to attribute numerous items to William Hack merely because they showed a general similarity to his work, which was familiar to them in atlases and maps he copied and signed during the last two decades of the seventeenth century. Many of these attributions were unjustified and are no longer considered valid. Similarly, when the Blathwayt Atlas was acquired by the John Carter Brown Library, it was assumed that because some of the other manuscript maps showed a general resemblance to the style of Map 21, signed by James Lancaster and dated 1679, other unsigned manuscripts were also made by him at the same time

—especially the other maps of Carolina areas that were placed next to Map 21 in the volume.¹¹ Comparisons made in recent years with maps in the British Museum and elsewhere have shown, however, that this is not the case.

Although the overall style is easily identifiable, the problem of attributing any of the unsigned manuscripts to a specific individual is much more difficult than was once ingenuously assumed. To differentiate the style of a single individual from that of a group of men with similar or identical training requires, in the first place, an adequate sampling of maps, preferably with a large number of place names. Individual styles of lettering can only be differentiated by methods customary in the identification of handwriting, that is, observation of inconspicuous details that represent unconscious habitual movements of the pen. Sometimes these are apparent in the angle, length, and slope of serifs on capital letters, the shape of the descenders of lower-case *g*'s or *y*'s, or a frequently recurring form of a *k*, or similar letter. The requisite minute comparisons are difficult to make without placing originals side by side. For this purpose reduced photographs are seldom useful, and even black-and-white reproductions in full size can sometimes be misleading. It is hoped that the reproduction of the group of Thames school manuscripts in the Blathwayt Atlas, in exact color and actual size, will enable more people to become familiar with the style and encourage them to bring to attention other examples not now known. The facsimiles can be useful for detailed comparisons of color and lettering as well as decorative style.

The problem of identifying the makers of anonymous productions is further complicated by our lack of knowledge of the working methods of the men in the group. There is some evidence that certain individuals did not work alone, that more than one person may have worked on a single map. In many cases there are noticeable differences in lettering and color in the signed productions of some Thames school practitioners—for instance, the atlases and separate maps of William Hack. Does this mean that he had a large shop with several individuals responsible to him performing specialized functions? Were the unsigned maps made by apprentices, or

11. In 1959 W. P. Cumming in *Southeast*, nos. 78–81, provided the best description of the Blathwayt Atlas that had appeared in print up to that time, but he followed this mistaken attribution.

12. In "Joel Gascoyne: A Cartographer with Style," *Geographical Magazine*, February 1972, pp. 335-41, Professor William Ravenhill attributes two estate atlases to Gascoyne, and he gives an interesting exposition of the method of constructing the decorative compass roses characteristic of the Thames school. With limited space at his disposal, he did not include the description, location, or history of the atlases, nor did he make it clear which characteristics of Gascoyne's compass roses differentiate them from those by other members of the Thames school.

13. The three pairs of maps are: Map 16 and Public Record Office, C.O.700 Maryland no. 1 (reproduced incompletely in *Crown Collection*, ser. 3, vol. 4, nos. 183-84); Map 17 and Public Record Office, M.P.G. 375; Map 20 and British Museum, Add. Ms. 13970.b (reproduced in *Crown Collection*, ser. 1, vol. 5, no. 34, and described in Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 98).

by journeymen who had not set up independent establishments? It is natural to think of a signature as indicative of a certain pride in accomplishment or a desire to advertise, but if these were the reasons for signing a map, what were the reasons for not doing so? It seems unlikely that the reverse of pride or a desire for secrecy could have been the cause. These unanswered questions suggest that caution is requisite in making attributions.¹²

The ten maps of the Blathwayt Atlas in the Thames school style, or strongly influenced by it, are listed below, with the copyist's name, if the map is signed, and the date of the copy:

- 7. Newfoundland, [before 1671?]
- 14. Long Island, [1679?]
- 16. Maryland, [1677?]
- 17. Virginia, [1677?]
- 18. Carolina coast, [1664 or later]
- 19. Carolina coast (Cape Fear River), [1662 or later]
- 20. Carolina coast, [1677?]
- 21. Albemarle Sound, James Lancaster, 1679
- 24. Bermuda, Thomas Clarke, 1678
- 43. Bombay Harbor, [1678?]

None of the eight anonymous manuscripts can be associated with any of the Thames school cartographers whose names are known. On the other hand, careful comparisons have produced convincing evidence that Maps 16, 17, and 20 were produced by one individual. Observations of color identity have been confirmed by the color experts of the Meriden Gravure Company, and idiosyncracies of lettering occur throughout in the place names. Each of these three maps has a counterpart, or rather an actual twin, in the British Museum or the Public Record Office.¹³ The Blathwayt maps vary from the corresponding manuscripts in a few details, such as the omission or inclusion of an occasional place name, but together the three pairs constitute a group that suggests that an anonymous member of the Thames school during the 1670s was copying maps for more than one government official.

Maps of the Thames school were esteemed by at least one knowledgeable contemporary. On 18 February 1665 Samuel

Pepys "took my Lord Sandwich's draught of the harbour of Portsmouth down to Ratcliffe, to one Burston, to make a plate for the King, and another for the Duke, and another for himself; which will be very neat." Pepys made three more trips to Burston's shop in Ratcliff in connection with this transaction, one by coach, one by water, and another on foot ("it being bitter cold"). His enthusiasm for Burston's work is evident in his statement that "indeed I think he is the most exact man in what he do in the world of that kind." Even more significantly, Pepys says that soon thereafter he decorated his own office with "some neat plates that Burston has for my money made me."¹⁴

For once Pepys does not say how much he spent, information that would be useful, because very little is known of the prices charged by the Thames school map makers. The subject was touched on briefly in a letter written by a chance visitor to Nicholas Comberford's house ten years earlier, in 1655. Comberford had told the visitor that his lowest price was twenty-five shillings and that it required three weeks' work by himself and his son to complete a single map.¹⁵ This figure is higher than the average cost of the maps ordered by Blathwayt, and Sir Robert Southwell before him, for the use of the Lords of Trade. Maps of this sort, "drawn with the hand," in color, and with varying decorative features, usually cost from twelve to twenty shillings, and in one case, thirty.¹⁶

In the same period engraved maps, mass produced, were usually advertised for no more than one or two shillings a sheet, with coloring added for another sixpence or a shilling. Engraved maps were not competitive with the Thames school maps acquired by the Lords of Trade, however, because none of these manuscripts had exact counterparts in available printed maps. A less expensive alternative to a Thames school map was a simple pen-and-ink copy, professionally drawn, of which Map 8 is an example. It might be expected that the simpler product would have appealed to an economy-minded Plantations Office secretary. There is no information available, however, on the price of pen-and-ink copies, and possibly the difference in cost was not as great as it would have been in a later century. To a modern eye, the decorative quality of the Thames school maps is their most

14. *Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. H. B. Wheatley (London, 1900), vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 333 and 342. The word "plate" is an error for "plat." This caused the indexer to characterize Burston as an engraver. See also other index references to John Burston.

15. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont* (London, [1905]), vol. 1, pt. 2, pp. 570-73.

16. This approximation was obtained by averaging entries in Add. Ms. 9767 referring to groups of manuscript maps bought for the Plantations Office between 1675 and 1683.

striking characteristic, but Pepys mentioned especially their exactness and neatness. Professional training was necessary for reliable copying, and the men of the Thames school had been trained in the ancient art of the portolan chart, with emphasis on techniques for copying manuscript maps. They were probably the best available commercial copyists and for that reason were frequently chosen to provide maps for the Plantations Office.

COMMENTARY



The Manuscript List of Maps

"A List of Maps, as they ly bound in this Book," written on two leaves at the front of the atlas, records the contents of the volume as it was first made up about 1683, which differ from the contents of the surviving atlas. Ten of the maps in the atlas as it has survived do not appear in the manuscript list (Maps 5, 12, 22, 23, 29, 44, 45, 46, 47, and 48), and six of the maps listed are not now present in the volume.

The list is in the hand of John Povey, a clerk in the Plantations Office and a cousin of Blathwayt, who first employed him about 1680.¹ Povey's usual handwriting is smaller and somewhat crabbed, but the letter forms are the same. The writing in the list reflects the struggle of a man whose penmanship was mediocre to produce an impressive result, which he hoped might be acceptable in the eyes of his employer. Povey had difficulty in spelling some of the names, and he repeated page numbers 14 and 41.

1. Jacobsen, *Blathwayt*, pp. 107, 298–303, and passim. Povey acted as Blathwayt's deputy in later years but was not chosen to succeed him.

2. Listed as the first map in Phillips, *Atlases*, 4150, 4151, 4153, and 4154.

Maps in the Manuscript List Missing from the Atlas

The designations given to the six missing maps in the manuscript list are not specific, and their identities cannot be established with certainty. It is possible, however, in all six cases to find grounds for suggesting what they probably were.

"SELLER'S MAP OF THE WORLD [Page] 1"

This was almost certainly the world map in hemispheres usually found in John Seller's *Atlas Maritimus*, entitled "No-vissima totius terrarum tabula."²

"MASSACHUSETTS-BAY [Page] 8"

This map was almost certainly a manuscript, because no such map is known to have been printed at the time the atlas was put together. It may well have been the original, or a copy, of

3. CSP/AWI, 20 March 1676, no. 849.

4. *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 6th ser., 3:457; also published by the Prince Society in Robert N. Toppan, ed., *Edward Randolph: Including His Letters and Official Papers . . .*, vol. 1 (Boston, 1899), 3:31.

5. CSP/AWI, 25 September 1679, no. 1130.

6. Add. Ms. 9767, under 29 September 1679.

7. *Catalogue des Cartes Nautiques sur Vélin conservées au Département des Cartes et Plans* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1963), p. 294. Photographed by L. C. Karpinski in 1928 (S.H.A. 135-6-3).

a map known to have been made by Edward Randolph. When he was sent on his first mission to Massachusetts as agent of the crown in 1676, his instructions required that he report thoroughly on conditions in Boston and suggested that "an exact Map of the whole Country and town of Boston," if it could be procured, would be "of very great use and service for a more cleare demonstration of the premises."³ Randolph's report, made soon after his return to England, does not mention a map, but later, on 18 July 1678, he wrote a letter saying he was petitioning the king "for the better observation of the lawes of Trade, to have all the forts & castles by his commissioners [of the customs] putt into the hands of such as I may answere for, & to that end have made a map of the bay of Boston, that the King may see the necessity thereof."⁴ When Randolph was leaving for his second voyage to New England in 1679, this time in the capacity of collector of customs, some official papers and letters were put into his hands by William Blathwayt, who took a signed receipt for them. At the end of the list of items is a "map of Boston Harbour."⁵ At about the same time a payment was recorded by the Lords of Trade for several maps, among them "Two Maps of the Port of Boston in New England."⁶ The content and timing of these references makes it seem likely that the payment was made for two copies of the map Randolph said he had made in 1678, one for his own use and the other for the Plantations Office. Probably it was the latter that was eventually incorporated into the atlas when it was made up.

The documents give no indication as to the content or characteristics of Randolph's map, but it may have been similar to an untitled English manuscript map of Boston Harbor now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which was "Made by Augustine Fitzhugh at the Corner of the Minories Neare Little Towerhill Anno: 1683."⁷ Fitzhugh was one of the Thames school copyists (see Introduction), and it is known that these craftsmen often supplied copies of the same maps over a period of years.

The map missing from the atlas was clearly not related to a later Fitzhugh manuscript in the British Museum, "A Draught of Boston-Harbor By Capt: Cyprian: Southake:

Made by Augustine Fitzhugh Anno 1694.”⁸ This Southack map resembles in almost every detail the “Boston Harbor in New-England” engraved by John Thornton, which is found in the British Museum copy of the earliest edition of *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book* (London, 1689). Although the date of the survey that resulted in this map is unknown, it could not have been before 1685, the date of Southack’s first arrival in Boston as a young man of twenty-three.⁹

“NEW JERSEY [Page] 13”

If this was a printed map, it may have been one of the early forms of John Seller’s map of New Jersey mentioned in the commentary on Map 13. Seller first brought it out about 1674, and either state 1 or state 2 could have been included in the atlas. No manuscript map of New Jersey is known to have been made in this period.

“ST. CHRISTOPHERS & NEVIS [Page] 26”

Although no printed map of these two islands, either singly or together, is known to have been published before 1683, the existence of four manuscript maps of Saint Christopher, none of which can now be located, has been recorded:

1. With a report to the Council for Plantations (predecessor to the Lords of Trade) in December 1671, Governor Sir Charles Wheler sent a “map of Nevis and St. Christopher’s.”¹⁰
2. Sir William Stapleton, successor to Wheler as governor of the Leeward Islands, in a communication of 9 January 1674 to the council, sent a map of Saint Christopher “according to the best skill of their artist, with the limits and bounds of both nations.”¹¹
Apparently this map showed the boundaries between the parts of the island held by the French and those in the possession of the English. The manuscript must have been lost or mislaid, because two years later the newly organized Plantations Committee, endeavoring to improve its collection of maps of the colonies, asked Stapleton to send them “maps of St. Christopher’s and

8. Add. Ms. 5414.17.

9. Clara E. LeGear, “The New England Coasting Pilot of Cyprian Southack,” *Imago Mundi*, 11: 142. Reproduction of the map, no. 18 in *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book*. London, 1689, ed. Coolie Verner (Amsterdam, 1967).

10. CSP/AWI, 9 December 1671, no. 680.

11. *Ibid.*, 9 January 1674, no. 1201.

12. *Ibid.*, 14 April 1676, no. 886; 20 June 1676, no. 954.

13. *Ibid.*, 17 July 1676, no. 990.

14. *Blathwayt Mss.*, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., vol. 39. Abbreviations in the original have been expanded.

Antigua as he has done of Nevis and Montserrat, which seem very exact." Patiently Stapleton replied that he had already sent a map of Saint Christopher but would try to get another.¹²

3. In July 1676, in response to the committee's request, Stapleton sent a "Map of St. Christopher's and Nevis and excuses some errors of orthography."¹³
4. The record of a fourth manuscript map of Saint Christopher is closely connected with Blathwayt. Captain Joseph Crispe, a prominent planter and member of the council of the island who had served for a time as its agent in London, wrote him in January 1682 that he hoped to send Blathwayt "an exact plat of the Island Surveyed round by an artist, never yet done but by Guess." More than a year later, on 31 May 1683, he wrote again, saying, "The Plat of this Island soe long promised you has ben finished this 6 months but the surveyor could not conveniently stay longer upon the land then to accomplish the originalls which I being unwilling to adventure to sea without a Coppy, put it into the hand of Sloving [?]; who hath abused it notwithstanding in the greasy condition he left it have sent it home addressed to Capt. Jefferson to be delivered to you. I desire that you please to employ some person skillfull in such thing to draw you a faire Copy and an other for me after that to returne the Originalls. I have been much importuned by severall Gents of the Island to print it, that they may have Coppies. If any person will undertake it at his charge I am to let him for a publique satisfaction of those concerned although it cost me a great deale of Mony the Survey."¹⁴

The "Capt. Jefferson" to whom he sent the abused map was Christopher Jeaffreson, another planter of Saint Christopher, who remained active in its affairs after his return to London and later became official agent for the island. On 29 October he wrote to Crispe that he had shown the map to Blathwayt and had had an interesting conversation with him at the Newmarket

races. Jeaffreson added, however, that it would cost so much to print the map without reducing it that he hesitated to publish it.¹⁵ A year later, on 27 October 1684, Jeaffreson again wrote to Crispe, saying, "His Majesty came to town the other day from Newmarket. I shall endeavour to get Mr. Blathwait to show him your draft, that it may be printed, which has been my desire ever since it was sent over; and the reason, why it is delayed or obstructed, is a riddle to me."¹⁶ No later reference to the existence of this map has been found. If Jeaffreson had a copy made for Blathwayt soon after its receipt in 1683, it could have been included in the atlas. The size of the map, however, makes this doubtful. It was said to be large and may have required two sheets, because Crispe twice speaks of the "originalls." Perhaps it was drawn on two of the one hundred "skins of parchment" known to have been purchased for use on the island by Governor Stapleton a few years earlier.¹⁷

Of the four maps, only the first and third were described as including the neighboring island of Nevis as well as Saint Christopher, and circumstances suggest that the third was the most likely to have been included in the atlas. None of the four manuscripts has been found, and none of them became current at the time through publication. The English maps of Saint Christopher that appeared in printed form later in the seventeenth century—for instance, the inset on Philip Lea's *The Principall Islands in America belonging to the English Empire*—followed the French map of Sanson (Map 27) in its outlines, with the place names translated.

"PERU [Page] 35"

It may be assumed that this was one of the series of Dutch maps of South America added to the English and French maps in the atlas (Maps 37, 40, 41, 45, 48). "Peru" was the title of a map by Hessel Gerritsz that first appeared in Joannes de Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt* (Leiden, 1625). It was republished in many forms throughout the seventeenth century by Hondius, Blaeu, and Janssonius.¹⁸

15. Christopher Jeaffreson, *A Young Squire of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1878), 2:88.

16. *Ibid.*, 2:139.

17. C. S. S. Higham, "The Accounts of a Colonial Governor's Agent in the Seventeenth Century," *American Historical Review*, January, 1923, p. 274.

18. Koeman, *Atlantes*, 2:347, Me 30, no. 12. See also index entries in volume 5.

19. Ibid., no. 11.

“CHILI [Page] 39”

This was probably a Dutch map of the same general type as the missing map of Peru.¹⁹ De Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt* in its first edition of 1625 contained a map of Chile upon which numerous later Dutch maps were based.

Map I

A New Mapp of the World According to Mr. Edward Wright Commonly called Mercator's-Projection. By John Thornton at the signe of England Scotland & Ireland in the Minories London To Sr. James Hayes Knt. One of his Maties. most Honorable Privy-Counsell in the Kingdome of Ireland: This Mapp is humbly Dedt. By John Thornton [1683]

Engraved, colored, 42.5 x 66.7 cm. Watermark similar to Heawood 1795A but with the initials A I in countermark

Inscription on reverse, in same hand as the manuscript list of maps: *Mercator's Projection*

The date of Map I can be established from an advertisement published in May 1683: "A New Map of the World, according to Mr. Edward Wright's Projection, vulgarly called Mercator, in a large Imperial Sheet. Price, plain, 1s. 6d.; colour'd 2s. Sold by J. Thornton at the Sign of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in the Minories."¹ This copy may have been printed somewhat earlier, since it is in what might be called a proof state. It lacks the name of the engraver, James Clark, and several decorative features that would normally have been on the map at the time of its advertised publication.

This map and Map 2 (Morden and Berry's world map) are instances of the popularization in England of the Mercator projection for maps of the world. Another of the same period—"Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis" in the first volume of Moses Pitt's *English Atlas* (Oxford, 1680)—was also in the library of the Plantations Office.² First used by Mercator in 1569 for his great world map, the projection was explained and made practical for use in navigation by the Englishman Edward Wright in 1599 in his *Certaine Errors in Navigation*. The earliest world map published in England to use the projection appeared in Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1598–1600), and Wright himself made a map to accompany the 1610 edition of his book.³ Although his map appeared

1. *Term Catalogues*, 2: 17.

2. A subscription to the first and second volumes was recorded as paid before 29 September 1680 (Add. Ms. 9767).

3. Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1952–63), 1: 26–28, 178–81, and pls. 100–101; 2: 32–34, and pls. 8–9. See also E. J. S. Parsons, "Edward Wright and His Work," *Imago Mundi* 3 (1939): 61–71.

4. John Thornton's career is summarized by Coolie Verner in his introduction to the facsimile reprint of *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book*, London, 1689, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 4th ser., vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1967). Professor Verner plans a more extended study of Thornton's publications.

5. Phillips, *Atlases*, 3444, vol. 1, no. 1. It is of interest to note that Thornton's map is found inserted in a copy of the English edition of Van Keulen, *The great and newly enlarged sea atlas or water-world . . .*, compiled about 1686. (See Phillips, *Atlases*, 5692, vol. 1, no. 3.)

6. A sketch of Hayes's life is in *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679-1684, Second Part, 1682-1684*, Hudson's Bay Company Series, 9, ed. E. E. Rich (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1946), pp. 320-27.

7. *Ibid.*, *First Part, 1679-1682*, Hudson's Bay Company Series, 8, ed. E. E. Rich (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1945), p. 62. A payment was made to Thornton for work on maps in May 1680.

again in the edition of 1657, the use of the projection did not become widespread until later in the century. Much more familiar at the time were the hemispheric world maps, an example of which was originally in the atlas, placed before what is now Map 1 (see page 25).

John Thornton⁴ used Wright's projection, but he did not follow Wright's map in his outlines. He seems rather to have used one or more contemporary Dutch world maps. One of these in which a good many similarities may be found is Claes Janszoon Voogt's *Wassende Graade Kaart van alle bekende Zeekusten op den geheelen Aardbodem*, published by Johannes van Keulen at Amsterdam, possibly as early as 1681.⁵

Whatever Thornton's Continental sources may have been, it is evident that he incorporated a good deal of material from English maps, some of which he himself had had a hand in publishing. For instance, the southern part of South America shows information from the voyage of Sir John Narborough in 1669-71, and his observations of compass variation are given for both ends of the Strait of Magellan (see Map 42). The depiction of the Hudson Bay area is similar to that of Map 4, also a Thornton publication. Of particular interest is the inclusion of the names and relatively correct locations of the English mainland colonies along the east coast of North America, the most recent being "Penn Silvania," indicating the grant of 1681, which is shown with boundaries. The map contains the best representation of the American colonial possessions to be shown on an English world map up to the time of its publication.

Sir James Hayes, to whom the map is dedicated, is best known for his connection with the Hudson's Bay Company. As secretary to Prince Rupert, its first governor, he was one of the original investors and served as deputy governor from 1675 to 1685.⁶ John Thornton's connection with the company, for which he executed commissions as early as 1680,⁷ made the dedication a natural one for him, although certainly the Hudson Bay area as shown on the map contains no information less than ten years old. Sir James is mentioned in the dedication not in connection with the Hudson's Bay Company but as a member of the Privy Council in Ireland. It is not known when he became a member of this body, and

the office is not mentioned by his biographer. He was, however, one of the commissioners for the revenue of Ireland as early as 20 October 1671, and his name occurs among those of members of the Irish Privy Council in a document of 1677.⁸

8. *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns . . . 1485-1714*, Bibliotheca Lindesiana, vol. 6 (Oxford, 1910), vol. 2, pt. 1, nos. 819 and 880.

States of the Map

1. Before May 1683——Possibly a proof (lacks engraver's signature and certain decorative features); "Tristin Acunha" and "Garlaice" islands at 29° S——John Carter Brown Library, Blathwayt Map 1
2. May 1683 or later —— "Ia Clark Sculp" at lower right; ships added west of "Fretum Anian," north of "The Land of Eso," and in Baffin Bay; fish (or whales) added west of Nova Zembla and south of Madagascar; "Tristin Acunha" and "Garlaice" islands moved to 37° S and marked "I do Tristian Achũa" and "I Garlaice"——Library of Congress; British Museum (2 copies); Servicio Geográfico del Ejército, Madrid (reproduced in *Cartografía de Ultramar* [Madrid, 1949], carpeta 1, pl. 33)
3. "I Ladrones" added east of Philippines——William L. Clements Library; British Museum
4. After 1700——Tracks of voyages of Dampier and Halley added——British Museum, in *The English Pilot. The Third Book*, 1704

Map 2

1. John Charnock, *Biographia Navalis; or, Impartial Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of Officers of the Navy of Great Britain, from the Year 1660*, 6 vols. (London, 1794-98), 1: 51, 378-80. Brief discussions of Wood are to be found in R. A. Skelton, *Explorers Maps* (London, [1958]), pp. 110-11, and in Edward Lynam, *The Map-maker's Art* (London, [1953]), p. 105.

2. R. A. Skelton to J. D. Black, 22 March 1969, in which Mr. Skelton analyzed the addresses given in varying forms by William Berry and concluded that Berry moved his shop some time between June 1675 and November 1676.

To Capt: John Wood this Map of the World Drawn according to Mercators Projection is humbly Dedicated By Robt. Morden & Willm. Berry Sold at ye Atlas in Cornhill & at ye Globe in ye Strand London [1676]

Engraved, 19.3 x 20 cm. Western Hemisphere sheet only

Inscriptions on reverse: *Wood's America* *America*

Map 2 is the western half of a world map printed in two sheets. The eastern sheet is not present but is known from other copies existing in complete form in the British Museum and the William L. Clements Library. The only cartouche is on the present sheet and contains the dedication to Captain John Wood, with his coat of arms.¹ Because it has no formal title it is sometimes referred to as the "John Wood map." This western sheet constitutes in itself a map of the Americas and is called "Woods America" in the manuscript list of maps despite the clear statement in the cartouche that it is a map of the world.

No advertisement of publication has been found to assist in establishing the date of the map's first appearance, but the year 1676 seems probable. It must have been earlier than November 1676, at which time William Berry is known to have been working at an address different from the one given in the cartouche.² One of its geographical features could not have been included before 1674. The outline of the island of Nova Zembla (now Novaya Zemlya) in the polar inset at the upper left of the map follows closely the concept delineated in a small map published in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* for March of that year.

The most likely moment for the publication of a map dedicated to Captain John Wood was in the early months of 1676, when he was preparing to go on a well-publicized voyage for the purpose of discovering a northeast passage to Asia. The outlines of the polar inset correspond to the ideas he had

before setting out, and there is no hint of his track or of place names derived from his voyage. If the map was published in the spring of 1676, it is possible that one of the entries in the Plantations Office accounts refers to it, perhaps to this very copy. A statement of expenses up to 24 June 1676 contains an item of two shillings for "The World in two Sheets."³ The price indicates an uncolored copy, because the usual charge for an engraved map was a shilling a sheet, with an extra shilling a sheet for coloring.⁴ No other two-sheet world map is recorded as published in England during this period. World maps were more likely to be printed on a single sheet, except for a few very large productions on several sheets, most of which are not known in surviving copies.

There is a second state of this map, readily distinguishable from the first by the presence on it of the names "Pensilvania" and "N. Iersey." Since William Penn's grant received its name in 1681, the revision of the plate must have occurred at some time after that date. The new names were cut rather clumsily on the plate, and several crowded names in the small area had to be recut in different positions to make room for them. In the process "Patuxent R." disappeared. No change was made in the cartouche, although William Berry's address in the Strand was out of date before 1681.

It is possible that three items in Plantations Office bills and memoranda of the years 1687 and 1688 refer to copies of the map in its later form.⁵ They occur in accounts with William Berry, who from about 1685 had regular dealings with the office. There were charges by him for bookbinding and for coloring maps, mounting them on cloth or framing them, furnishing them with rollers, cleaning and "ironing" them, and sometimes, apparently, selling them, although the entries are often not clear as to whether particular charges were for purchases or for repairs or other services. Often items are combined so that it is impossible to be certain of the amount of the charge involving a specific map. In March 1687 there appears an item of twelve shillings for "Wood's America and binding . . . a book of Sea platts in Calves Leather and Gilt." Again, in June 1688 there is a bill of three shillings sixpence for "A Map of the World and a Map of Wood's America." In this case the item is repeated in a memorandum in the hand

3. Add. Ms. 9767.

4. This is deduced chiefly from advertisements in *Term Catalogues* and the *London Gazette*.

5. Blathwayt Mss., Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., vol. 41.

6. Vol. 9, no. 101 (March 1674): 3.

7. The origin of the concept of Nova Zembla as a peninsula is discussed in T. T. G. Locker and P. de Buck, *Nicolaas Witsen Moscovische Reyse 1664-1665*, vol. 3, Linschoten Vereeniging, 68 (The Hague, 1967), pp. 380-86. See also Johannes Keuning, "Nicolaas Witsen as a Cartographer," *Imago Mundi* 11 (1954): 95-110.

8. *Philosophical Transactions* 9, no. 109 (December 1674): 197-208, and 10, no. 118 (October 1675): 417-24. Joseph Moxon, *A Brief Discourse of a Passage by the North-Pole to Japan, China, &c.* (London, 1674).

of John Povey, Blathwayt's clerk. He uses different wording, "a two-sheet world and Wood's America." It seems reasonable to suggest that these entries have to do in some way with copies of the second state of the map (in its complete form and also as the Western Hemisphere only) and that they were at that time in use as separates in the Plantations Office.

Copies of the map in its revised state are in the Library of Congress and Yale University Library. A copy of the revised western sheet alone has been reported to be in an American private collection.

Captain John Wood and the Northeast Passage

The name of Captain John Wood in the dedication of Map 2 connects it with the brief revival of English interest in the search for a northeast passage during the years 1674-76, interest engendered by a letter of the Dutch geographer Nicolaas Witsen to Henry Oldenburg, secretary of the Royal Society, who published it in *Philosophical Transactions*.⁶ The letter and the map accompanying it propounded a new concept of the northern coast of Russia in its relationship to Nova Zembla, which current Dutch maps had shown correctly as an island with an unexplored eastern coast. The new concept was that the island was really a peninsula and therefore blocked any opening to the sea beyond. The letter mentioned earlier unsuccessful attempts to sail to the east through the strait between Nova Zembla and the mainland but said that the Samoyeds and Tartars claimed that "passing on the Back of Nova Zembla, at a considerable distance from the Shore, Navigators may well pass as far as Japan." It is said that a Russian map, purported to be by Stanislas Lopoetski, portrait painter to the czar, influenced Witsen. His acceptance of this incorrect geography was only temporary, and he delineated Nova Zembla correctly as an island on his 1687 map of Russia.⁷ In the meantime, however, the publication in London of his letter of 1674 generated other discussions of possible routes to the east in *Philosophical Transactions*, as well as a separate pamphlet by Joseph Moxon, a member of the Royal Society.⁸

Captain John Wood, another member of the society, made an attempt to translate theory into action. He was a naval officer who had sailed to the Strait of Magellan under Sir John Narborough a few years earlier, and he was known as a good navigator with a special interest in studying the behavior of the compass in high latitudes. He drew up a plan for a voyage to sail over the North Pole to Japan, and secured the support of the king, the duke of York, and a group of investors, among them four members of the Royal Society and two members of the Privy Council who also served on the Committee for Trade and Plantations. With two vessels especially fitted for sailing in icy northern seas, the *Speedwell* and the *Prosperous*, Wood's expedition set out from London on 28 May 1676. He intended to steer directly for the Pole, but a barrier of ice forced him eastward, and the *Speedwell* was wrecked on the shore of Nova Zembla. Fortunately the *Prosperous* was able to rescue the captain and his crew and carry them home to London, arriving on 23 August. In the wreck Wood lost his papers and, as he says, "all I had in the world beside." The failure of his expedition put an end to English attempts to discover a northeastern route to Asia.

Wood compiled a report of his voyage from memory and with the aid of the log of Captain William Flawes of the *Prosperous*, detailing his reasons for the voyage and his observations on the inhospitable country where he lost his ship. The point where the ship was wrecked he called "Point Speedill," and he gave names to three other nearby features: "King Charles's Snow Hills," "James Foreland," and "York Point." A manuscript copy of his relation, illustrated by two maps, is preserved in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. In 1680 the Royal Society made an effort to collect accounts of voyages and planned to obtain a copy of Wood's narrative at that time.⁹ It was not until 1694, however, after the captain's death, that his narrative was printed, with a map for which he was not in any way responsible.

Several maps published in England before Wood's voyage and in the years immediately following it reflected the erroneous concept of Nova Zembla as a peninsula as well as the current interest in the expedition. Some of them are listed below in their probable chronological order:

9. Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society . . .* (London, 1760), 4:27.

- A. 1674 [Nicolaas Witsen. Untitled outline map of Nova Zembla, without latitude or longitude.] Engraved, 16.1 x 20.5 cm. In *Philosophical Transactions*, no. 101 (March 1674)

This map, which shows Nova Zembla as a curved peninsula, was published to illustrate "A Letter, not long since written to the Publisher by an Experienced Person residing at Amsterdam, containing a true description of Nova Zembla, together with an intimation of the Advantage of its shape and Position." The publisher referred to was Henry Oldenburg, secretary of the Royal Society.

- B. 1674. [Joseph Moxon. Untitled map of the Arctic region, on a polar projection to 40° N, including about three-fourths of the circular area.] "James Moxon sculp." Engraved, radius 11 cm. In Joseph Moxon, *A Brief Discourse of a Passage by the North-Pole to Japan, China, &c* (London, 1674)

Nova Zembla is shown as a peninsula curving around the "Sinus Dulcis," but the connection of the farther coast with the mainland is less definite than in Witsen's map (A). In his text Moxon refers to it but states, "This Map of Nova Zembla is here omitted, because here is set forth a Map of all the Lands nearest about the North-Pole."

- C. 1675? John Wood. "Polar Draught." Manuscript. Location unknown

In his "Relation" in *An Account of Several Late Voyages* (London, 1694), Wood says, "I drew a Polar Draught, wherein I traced all those Navigators that had Attempted the North-East, which I presented to His Majesty, and Royal Highness. . . ."

- D. 1676? Robert Morden and William Berry. [Untitled map of the Arctic region on a polar projection to about 48° N.] Engraved, radius 7 cm. Inset, upper left, Blathwayt Map 2

The outline of Nova Zembla as a peninsula resembles Map A rather than Map B.

E. 1676. Joseph Moxon. *A Polar Draft of all the Discovered Lands about the North Pole. Wherein is noted the Discoverie of such Englishmen that have endeavoured to find a Passage to Japan China &c. by ye North East and North West. As also a Track of the present intended Voyage of . . . Capt. John Wood. . . .* Engraved, approximately 37.3 x 41.7 cm. Printed text attached. (Described from photostat of copy in the Bodleian Library)

This is a polar projection to 34° N, including nine-tenths of the circular area. Scenes of whaling and polar bears are in the upper corners, and there are blank shields in the lower corners. The tracks of Luke Fox, Thomas James, Hugh Willoughby, and the Pet-Jackman expedition are shown. Wood's intended route from London across the North Pole terminates in Japan. At left and right of the map are two columns of letterpress, pasted on, with a caption title ("A Collection of some Attempts made to the North-East, and North-West, for the finding a Passage to Japan, China, &c. As also somewhat relating to the satisfaction of all Inquirers into Captain John Wood's present Voyage in search of a Passage by the North Pole, &c. By Joseph Moxon, Hydrographer to the King's most Excellent Majesty") and with a colophon ("London: Printed for Joseph Moxon, and sold at his shop on Ludgate-hill at the signe of Atlas; and by James Moxon, in the Strand neer Charing-cross, right against King Henry the Eighth's-Inne. 1676").

Moxon states in his printed text (which is not recorded in Wing) that he brought out this map because he was asked to provide something on a larger scale than his earlier map (B) as well as to give information on the intended track of Wood's voyage, concerning which he was receiving daily inquiries. The outlines are different from Moxon's earlier map, and he may have based them on Wood's "Polar Draught" (C). This map was probably published before Wood's departure in May 1676 and must have been printed before his return on 23 August.

F. 1676. John Wood. "A Draught of the Ice between

Greenland and Nova Zembla” and [untitled map of the Arctic region to 40° N]. Manuscripts, colored, respectively 27.5 x 41.8 cm and 37.8 x 38.1 cm (sheet size). In “A Relation of a Voyage For the Discovery of a Passage by the North East. to Japan & China, Performed in . . . the Yeare of our Lord 1676 . . . By Capt. Iohn Wood,” Ms. 2542, Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge

The title and text of the manuscript relation are substantially the same as the later printed version, but the maps were never published. The text is in a clerk’s hand. The maps, which are delicately drawn and contain some decorations including animals and ships, are in a different hand from the text, but it is not known whether they were drawn by Wood himself or by a professional copyist. “A Draught of the Ice” shows the track of part of the voyage ending at “Point Speedill,” with the three other place names from the narrative on the west coast of Nova Zembla, part of which is shown. The outlines of the untitled map are probably similar to Wood’s lost “Polar Draught” (C), and Nova Zembla is shown as a peninsula. This map shows the track of the entire voyage as well as the four place names.

- G. 1676? John Seller. *A Mapp of the Regions & Countreyes under and about the North Pole*. [London, ca. 1676.] Engraved, 43.5 x 54.3 cm

This is a polar projection to 50° N, with decorations in the corners and an inset at the upper right showing Japan. In a second cartouche is a list of “The Names of those worthy persons that haue Attempted ye Discouery of a North East Passage to China and Iapan,” ending with “that Ingenious and Industrious C: Iohn Wood Attempted the like Discouery 1676.”

Although this map must have been published as a separate after August 1676, when Wood returned from his voyage, it is sometimes found in copies of Seller’s *Atlas Maritimus*, with a title page dated 1675. The map covers a smaller area than is shown in Moxon’s *Polar Draft* (E) and contains no tracks of voyages, but there

are many more place names. Nova Zembla is a curving, hump-backed peninsula, but the place names are those of Dutch maps, derived chiefly from the voyage of Willem Barentz in 1594–95. No names from Wood's voyage are included.

- H. 1680. [Moses Pitt.] "A Map of the North-Pole and the Parts Adioining. Oxon At the Theater MDCLXXX." Engraved, 45.7 x 58.4 cm. In *The English Atlas*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1680), no. 3

In the lower left there is an elaborate dedication by Pitt to the earl of Plymouth, with his arms. The inset, in the upper right, is a reduced version of Witsen's map (A), 5.2 by 8.8 centimeters, with the inscription: "In the Philosophicall Transactions of ao. 1674 N: 101, there is set down a Description of Nova Zembla as it was sent to the Royall Society from a Russia Merchant and discovered by order of the Grand Czaar, but there being not joyned to it either Longitude Latitude or other measure, we thought it better to follow the two newest Maps, one printed at Amsterdam a: 1678, the other at Nuremberg 1679; and to place this by it selfe; which shews it not an Iland but joyned with the Continent at the Letter K."

The "newest maps" referred to are two versions of an anonymous map, "Nova Zemla Waygats Straet Nassou en 't Land der Samoiden," added to a 1678 Dutch translation of Isaac de la Peyrère's *Relation du Groenland*, a work that had first been published in Paris in 1647. The second version accompanied a German translation of Nuremberg 1679. This map embodied the traditional Dutch idea of Nova Zembla as an island with a reasonably conjectured outline for the unexplored eastern coast. Pitt's Dutch collaborators were probably responsible for this feature of the map in *The English Atlas*, but the place name "Speed-ill," the name Wood gave to the point where the *Speedwell* was wrecked, appears among the names given years before by the Dutch. It seems likely that the name was derived from a verbal report of the voyage because it is located in latitude 76° 30' N

10. Wing N-154. Discussed by G. R. Crone and R. A. Skelton in *Richard Hakluyt & His Successors*, Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., no. 93, ed. Edward Lynam (London, 1946), pp. 71-73.

instead of $75^{\circ}30' N$, the latitude given in the map and narrative of the English navigator.

The preceding list demonstrates that a significant number of English maps published between 1674 and 1680 showed some form of peninsular delineation of Nova Zembla, usually in conjunction with a reference to John Wood's expedition. The content of these maps demonstrates an awareness on the part of the London map publishers of new geographical information and shows their attempts to give it currency in a variety of forms. The theory that had been advanced in print under the auspices of the Royal Society was, of course, received too uncritically, but it was finally subjected to a healthy skepticism, as shown on the map in Pitt's *English Atlas* (H).

Although Wood's report of his expedition had been sought after, and perhaps obtained, by the Royal Society in 1680, it was not printed until 1694 as part of a volume entitled *An Account of Several Late Voyages & Discoveries*, edited by Sir Tancred Robinson, published by the society's printers, and dedicated to Samuel Pepys, who was its president at that time.¹⁰ The map used to illustrate Wood's "Relation" in this publication was from the same plate as the map in Pitt's *English Atlas* (H), but its appearance is very different because the plate was subjected to unusual treatment. A strip twelve centimeters wide was cut off the top, thereby eliminating the title cartouche and the little map of Nova Zembla with its inscription. The dedication was deleted, with traces showing faintly under a newly engraved cartouche containing the title, "A Map of ye East and North West Parts of the Pole." No geographical changes were made except for the addition of three more of Wood's place names, taken from his text: "C. James," "K. Charles snow hills," and "P. York." The discrepancy in latitude of the point of the shipwreck as stated by Wood in his text and as located on the map was apparently not noticed by the editor.

Map 3

A New Map of the English Plantations in America. both Continent and Ilands, Shewing their true Situation and distance, from England or one with another, By Robert Morden, at the Atlas. in Cornhill nere the Royal Exchange, and William Berry at the Globe. between York House and the New Exchange in the Strand, London. [1673]

Engraved, colored, 43.7 x 54 cm

An advertisement in the *London Gazette*, no. 791 (16–19 June 1673), provides a date of publication for this map, which was brought out as a separate and is not recorded as appearing in any atlas. The publication of the map was once thought to be as late as 1680, but more recently Professor Cumming has conjectured a date between 1673 and 1677, suggesting the earlier date as more likely to be correct.¹ It is not known whether Robert Morden and William Berry were the compilers as well as publishers of the map. The work would have been within the capacity of either man.

This is one of the earliest maps to be published with the express intention of representing all the English-American colonies, from Hudson Bay to Guiana.² The inset of the polar regions shows two place names—"Charls Fort" and "P Ruparts R"—which date from the first expedition (1668–69) sent out by the adventurers who later organized as the Hudson's Bay Company (see commentary on Map 5). The delineation of the east coast colonies contains recent, though incorrect, information on the geography of the interior of the Carolina and Virginia area, drawn from John Lederer's map illustrating his narrative of 1672. Distorted and to some extent imaginative, his map and report influenced the cartography of the area for a good many years. Map 3 shows a non-existent lake, which Lederer called "Ushery" and which was renamed "Ashley Lake" in 1672 after Anthony Ashley Cooper, Baron Ashley, who in that year became the earl of

1. Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 73. The map was also listed, without comment and with the attributed date of ca. 1680, in Louis C. Karpinski, *Early Maps of Carolina and Adjoining Regions from the Collection of Henry P. Kendall*, 2d ed. (Charleston, S.C., 1937), no. 41, and in Museum Book Store catalogues 93 (1924), no. 490, and 105 (1927), no. 338.

2. In the same year Joseph Moxon advertised a wall map of the "English Empire in America," 6' x 4½' (*Term Catalogues*, 1: 141). No copy is known to have survived.

3. John Lederer, *The Discoveries of John Lederer*, ed. William P. Cumming (Charlottesville, 1958), especially pp. 91-94. For a somewhat earlier example, see the commentary on Map 5. The Lederer geography is also found on Map 2, published several years later.

4. For instance, *CSP/AWI*, 27 January 1672, no. 742, and 9 October 1672, nos. 944-45. See also "Plan of Port Royal Laguna, commonly called the Logwood Creeks" in Thomas Jefferys, *A Description of the Spanish Islands and Settlements on the Coast of the West Indies* (London, 1762), pl. 12 and pp. 56-57.

5. *Term Catalogues*, 1:135 (6 May 1673) also lists: "A new Map of the Trading Part of America, both Continent and Islands; shewing also the excellent situation of Isthmus and Panama, and the Island of Jamaica, for trade, or design, beyond all other parts of India. Price 1s. Sold by Moses Pitt in Little Britain." No such map has been located, and therefore its relationship to Map 3 cannot be determined.

Shaftesbury. With the date of 1673 now established for it, the map is unquestionably one of the earliest to show the influence of Lederer's geography.³

In the West Indies and the areas of Spanish settlement, the map seems at first glance to resemble closely the "Insulae Americanae" in John Ogilby's *America*, of 1671, which was derived from earlier Dutch maps, but it is actually much more sophisticated in detail and contains many more place names, indicating another and better source, possibly a manuscript. Certain legends in Map 3 point out English interests and activities. For instance, "Port Royal an English Colony" west of the Yucatan peninsula indicates the logwood creeks near Port Royal Laguna (Laguna de Terminos), one of the places where English ships, many of them privateers from Jamaica, had established a trade in logwood that was of importance in British Caribbean affairs through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Disputes with the Spaniards in the Port Royal area were reported by Sir Thomas Lynch, governor of Jamaica, to the Council for Plantations in 1672.⁴

Another legend off the southwest coast of Central America, "In December 1670 Panama was taken by the English and Kept 28 Dayes," refers to Sir Henry Morgan's raid on the isthmus when Panama City was sacked and burned to the ground. This legend appears to have some connection with the purpose of the map's publication, which is made more clear in the wording of the advertisement in the *London Gazette* than it is in the title. After repeating the wording of the cartouche, the advertisement continues: "as also their chief Townes, Ports Harbors, Rivers, &c. Also the excellent scituation of the Isthmus of Panama for Trade to the East Indies."⁵ This is a foreshadowing of the British interest in the isthmus and of later projects, one of which was the Scottish attempt to establish a settlement at Darien toward the end of the century.

Only one state of this map has been found, although an erasure is apparent near the southwest coast of Central America resulting from the deletion by the engraver of a false start on the legend concerning Sir Henry Morgan's raid of 1670. (The full legend appears just above, where it did not have to be crowded between the coastline and the edge of the

map.) In addition to the copy in the John Carter Brown Library, copies are located in the Library of Congress, the University of South Carolina Library (Kendall Collection), the American Geographical Society, the New York Public Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library, and the William L. Clements Library.

Map 4

1. Quoted from the preface to *The English Pilot. The Second Book . . . The Mediterranean Sea* (London, 1677), copy in the British Museum (Maps 22.d.8). This information was supplied by Professor Coolie Verner.

2. London Stationers' Company, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: From 1640-1708 A.D.*, 3 vols. (London, 1913-14), 3:93.

3. Introduction by Coolie Verner to facsimile of *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book*, London, 1689, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 4th ser., vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1967).

A Chart of ye North part of America. For Hudsons Bay Commonly called ye North West Passage. By Iohn Thornton. Iohn Seller. William Fisher. James Atkinson. Iohn Colson. [London, 1677?]

Engraved, colored, 43 x 52.8 cm. Watermark similar to Heawood 1514 but not identical

Inscription on reverse, probably in Blathwayt's hand: *North West Passage*

In March 1671 John Seller received an exclusive royal privilege to publish atlases projected by him under the titles of *Atlas Maritimus* and *The English Pilot*, "a work of very great Expence and Cost and not hitherto performed in this Our Kingdom." Seller was unable to complete his grand design with his own resources, and on 24 July 1677 he wrote that "for the better Management of my so Chargeable and Difficult an Undertaking, I have accepted the Assistance of my worthy Friends, Mr. William Fisher, Mr. John Thornton, Mr. John Colson, and Mr. James Atkinson, as my Copartners in the *English Pilot*, *Sea Atlas*, and in all Sea-Charts."¹ One of the sea charts published by this five-man "combine" was Map 4. The date of its first publication, therefore, could not have been much before July 1677. Later, on 3 November 1679, Seller's rights in the *Atlas Maritimus* and *The English Pilot. The Second Book* were officially transferred to William Fisher.² From this it may be suspected, although it is not certain, that Map 4, with five names in the imprint, was first published between these two dates, although the record of the transfer, unlike the statement by Seller, does not mention separate sea charts.

At some time later the cartouche was revised to eliminate the names of all the original publishers except John Thornton's. In this form it was used in the first and second editions of *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book*, published by William Fisher and John Thornton in 1689 and 1698.³ It has also been

found in some copies of the *Atlas Maritimus*, the title pages of which still carried Seller's name and the date of 1675, although they must have been put together later. The map with Thornton's name alone was also used in editions of the *Atlas Maritimus* published by John Thornton, undated but probably about 1685.⁴

It is clear that copies with Thornton's name alone are later, because in deleting the names of the map publishers the engraver also decapitated one of the human figures in the border of the cartouche. It may also be noticed that in the first state of the map there is a slight smudge near the western border between "Buttons Bay" and "Port Nelson." Scarcely noticeable (although apparent in our facsimile), it later developed into a crack in the plate, which is evident in all impressions carrying the John Thornton imprint. In the latest of these, the crack has become almost fifteen centimeters long.

The second state of the map, with the John Thornton imprint, occurs in many libraries. The first state is apparently much less common. In addition to Blathwayt Map 4 in the John Carter Brown Library, copies are found in the William L. Clements Library, the British Museum, and the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Much of the geographical content of Map 4 is derived from Map 5, which was published at least four years earlier, and discussion of it is therefore included in the commentary on Map 5.

4. National Maritime Museum, *Catalogue of the Library*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (London, 1971), no. 449 (42).

Map 5

1. See, for instance, Sir James Hayes to Sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state, 26 January 1684: "I send several journals of voyages to Hudson's Bay, and a map, for the use of Lord Preston" (CSP/AWI, 26 January 1684, no. 2097, in addenda for 1653-87 in volume for 1685-88).

A New Mapp of the north part of America from Hudson Straights commanly call'd the Norwest Passage Including Newfoundland New Scotland New England Virginia Maryland & Carolena Made and sold by John Thornton at the signe of England Scotland & Ireland in the Minorities [London, 1673]

Engraved, colored, 43.4 x 54 cm. Watermark, Heawood 2288

Inscriptions on reverse, in Blathwayt's hand: *Northwest Passage Northwest Passage*

The physical condition of this map, especially of the original margins, indicates that it was subjected to considerable handling, even rough usage, before its insertion in the atlas. It was also folded to a size approximately ten by fifteen centimeters, suggesting that it may at one time have been enclosed with a letter. It was apparently added after the atlas was originally put together.

The early activities of the Hudson's Bay Company did not involve any settlements except trading posts, and the company's affairs did not come directly before the Lords of Trade until the French takeover of the posts, beginning in 1682, created a series of international incidents. From 1683 on, the company's legal rights and its activities were frequently the subject of consideration by the committee, and it may be assumed that Map 5 came to the Plantations Office in connection with one of these later problems.¹ It should also be mentioned that Blathwayt in his capacity as auditor general of the plantations revenues was responsible for receiving the two beaver skins the company was obliged by its charter to hand over annually to the crown.

This map has not usually been included in discussions of North American cartography. In fact only two published references to it have been found: Heawood recorded the watermark from a copy in the Royal Geographical Society,

with the general date of the late seventeenth century; and the Blathwayt copy was included in Cumming's *Southeast* (as no. 89) under the tentative date of 1680. The date of publication is considerably earlier, however, because the map was advertised for sale in the *London Gazette* for 20–24 February 1673.² This advertisement establishes the map as the earliest known to have been printed by John Thornton. Only one state of his plate has been identified. Other copies of the map are in the William L. Clements Library (probably the copy listed by Francis Edwards in catalogue 727 in 1952) and the Royal Geographical Society; another, formerly owned by Goodspeed's Book Shop, is now in the private collection of Dr. Lloyd E. Hawes, of Boston.

Map 5 was included in Cumming's list because of the inset at the lower left, which shows the continuation of the east coast from New Jersey to Florida. Since the date is now known to be 1673, the inset becomes of importance because it shows "Ashleys Lake," "Savana," and "Deserta Arenosa," the distinctive and misleading cartographical results of the expeditions of John Lederer in 1670. These had first appeared in their original form in Lederer's book of 1672, and were popularized in the same year in *A New Discription of Carolina*, engraved by James Moxon.³ Map 5 may, therefore, be the second printed map to contain the Lederer features.

Establishment of the date of publication as February 1673 gives Map 5 the distinction of being the first printed map to show the results of activity by the Hudson's Bay Company. Although the company was not chartered until 1670, a group of thirteen "adventurers" with official backing associated themselves several years earlier. Their common interests were to search for a northwest passage and to share in the potentially profitable fur trade of Hudson Bay according to proposals of Radisson and Des Groseilliers, two French Canadian explorers and traders brought to London from New England in 1665.⁴ The first voyage sent out by the group, in the ship *Nonsuch*, commanded by Zachariah Gillam, reached the southeastern shore of James Bay in 1668. They spent the winter there and returned the following summer with a valuable cargo of furs. The river where they wintered they named for Prince Rupert, the most important member

2. This advertisement was mentioned in an appendix to *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1671–1674*, Hudson's Bay Company Series, 5, ed. E. E. Rich (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1942), p. 228, but with no attempt to verify the existence of a copy of the map.

3. Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 70; John Lederer, *The Discoveries of John Lederer*, ed. William P. Cumming (Charlottesville, 1958), pp. 91–94. See also commentary on Map 3.

4. Grace Lee Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness* (New York, 1943), gives the most complete account of the lives of Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouart, sieur des Groseilliers.

5. Quoted in Grace Lee Nute, "Radisson and Groseilliers' Contribution to Geography," *Minnesota History* 16 (December 1935): 421.

of the sponsoring group, and the name of Charles Fort was given to the buildings they erected for shelter from the severe climate. On Map 5 both the river and the fort are named, and there is also the legend, "at Prince Ruperts river Capt: Zachariah Gillam wintered who found a civil entertainment by the Natives being very willing to traffique with the English their cheif trade being Bever skins."

Gillam's instructions charged him "to keepe exact Journalls of all proceedings and observations and to be curious in your Soundings that wee may know the depth of the waters in all places where you come and according to the best of your Skill shall provide such mapps as may give us an accompt of the places where you goe."⁵ We know that Gillam followed these directions to the extent of keeping a log, which he illustrated with profiles and a few small sketches of his anchorages, because a summary of it was printed in all editions of *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book* beginning in 1689. If he made a map it has not survived. The configuration of the shoreline of James Bay as it appears on Map 5 suggests, however, that Thornton may have had available a map not now known. Earlier maps showed a large peninsula extending into the bay from its southern shore. On Map 5 there is a peninsula, but it is considerably smaller and has a distinctive shape for which there was no precedent. If Thornton copied a map, it could only have come from Gillam. There is the possibility, of course, that additional sketches were available in the original log but were not included in the printed summary that has come down to us.

Other Printed Maps Showing Hudson Bay

For some years after obtaining its charter in 1670 the Hudson's Bay Company concentrated on the struggle to establish its monopoly trade on a profitable basis. Settlements, as distinct from trading posts, were no part of the aims of the company, and consequently it produced no colonization literature. As for maps, there was no official statement of policy on secrecy, but it must have become a general practice as a natural result

of the investors' fear of competition from interlopers. Consequently, the results of exploration incidental to, and necessary for, the company's trading voyages were slow in establishing themselves as part of the geographic knowledge available to Englishmen. It is not surprising, however, that the first traces of the company's earliest voyages should appear on maps published by John Thornton and John Seller. The agents of the company bought compasses for its ships from Seller on at least two occasions, in 1672 and 1674, and on the second occasion Seller was also paid for "cards," probably charts.⁶ In 1680 and 1685 Thornton was paid for producing special maps for the use of the company and its captains.⁷ Unofficial association with agents of the company in the earliest years of the Hudson Bay voyages could easily have provided an opportunity for Thornton to obtain information on which he could base the delineation of James Bay on Map 5 in 1673.

The next map to show any knowledge of the first voyage, however, was published not by Thornton or by Seller but by Robert Morden and William Berry; *A New Map of the English Plantations in America* (Blathwayt Map 3) was advertised for sale in June 1673. The information shown is slight, consisting only of the place names "P Ruparts R" and "Charls Fort," placed on the shore of a Hudson Bay drawn with a traditional outline in an inset of the polar regions. These two names were probably known to the maker of the map from oral or published news accounts rather than from a cartographic source.

About two years later John Seller brought out a map with a title confusingly similar to those of Maps 4 and 5: *A Chart of the North Part of America. Describing the sea Coast of Groenland Dauiers Streights Baffins Bay Hudsons Streights Buttons Bay and James Bay*. . . . This appeared about 1675, as far as can be ascertained,⁸ and it is usually found associated with Seller's *Atlas Maritimus*, first published in that year. Originally the map showed the traditional outline of James Bay with a large, nonexistent peninsula. In this state the only indication shown on the plate that Seller had knowledge of English activity in Hudson Bay was in an inset of the polar regions, where he placed the legend "Prince Ruperts Land" east of

6. *Minutes 1671-1674*, pp. 78n and 123n. "Card," or "carde," was often used instead of "chart" in this period. See *Oxford English Dictionary*.

7. The 1680 record is in *Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company 1679-1684, First Part, 1679-82*, Hudson's Bay Company Series, 8, ed. E. E. Rich (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1945), pp. 61-62; the 1685 record is quoted in *Copy-Book of Letters Outward &c*, Hudson's Bay Company Series, 11, ed. E. E. Rich (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1948), p. xxvii n. This volume contains an introductory essay by the late E. G. R. Taylor on the early cartography of Hudson Bay. In this work she was handicapped by lack of knowledge of any existing copy of Map 5 as well as by some confusion concerning the early publishing activities of John Seller and John Thornton.

8. Coolie Verner to J. D. Black, 7 October 1971. Professor Verner has made a special study of this problem in connection with his continuing work on *The English Pilot*. He has concluded that Seller's *Atlas Maritimus* was not published before 1675 and that the title page with that date was used as late as 1690.

9. Only the Hudson Bay section of the main map is shown in the illustration accompanying Taylor's introduction to *Copy-Book*.

10. Nute, *Caesars of the Wilderness*, p. 291; John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 2 vols. (London, 1708), I: 396-98.

11. Cf. Phillips, *Atlases*, 3442, no. 5.

Hudson Bay.⁹ At some later time Seller revised the plate, changing the entire James Bay area and adding the names "Pr Ruperts R" and "Charles Fort." His new outline for the bay differs sufficiently from Thornton's on Map 5 to show clearly that it is not copied from it, although Seller may have made a different interpretation of the same source, whatever that may have been. Seller's second state appears also in copies of his *Atlas Maritimus*, so that it is not yet possible to attribute an exact date for the reengraving of this part of the map.

Blathwayt Map 4, published by John Thornton after 1676, contains information later than that of the first Hudson's Bay Company voyage, and it is the first to contain any soundings. These probably originated with the second voyage in 1670-71, when Charles Bayly was sent out as the first governor by the company. While preparations were being made for the voyage home in 1671, Bayly, Thomas Gorst, and others explored the coast and islands of James Bay in shallops. The revised coastline and the islands shown on Map 4, as well as the soundings, probably originated from material, possibly in the form of a chart, brought home from this voyage. There is no suggestion on Map 4 of the more extensive explorations made by the expedition of 1673-74.¹⁰

In 1689, when Thornton and Fisher brought out the first edition of *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book*, it contained the summary of Gillam's journal of 1668-69, accompanied by a map made from the same plate as Map 4, with the imprint revised to include only Thornton's name. The map was not appropriate, because it shows, not Gillam's 1668-69 voyage, but Bayly's voyage of 1670-71, and it contains none of the results of later voyages.

In the meantime, information of the first (and only the first) voyage began to be incorporated in maps of North America. An instance is William Berry's *North America Divided into its Principall Parts*, published in 1680,¹¹ which was for the most part based on a map by Sanson first published thirty years earlier but "Corrected and amended" by Berry. One of the corrections he made was a partial revision of Sanson's misconception of the shape of Hudson Bay, and in approximately their correct position he added the names of Charles Fort and Rupert's River.

Manuscript Maps of Hudson Bay

English manuscript maps from the earliest period of the Hudson's Bay Company are few in number, the company's own archives possessing none at all. What may be the earliest surviving one is an outline sketch, without soundings, of the southwestern shore of James Bay from Cape Henrietta Maria south to below the Moose River. It is an undated copy in the style of the Thames school (see Introduction) in the British Museum and was "Made By Thomas Moore."¹² The words "made by" in connection with a manuscript of the period often refer to the copyist, but they were also used with the name of the original maker from whose work the copy was made. No Thomas Moore has been identified as a map maker of the Thames school, nor has the name been found on any other English manuscript map of the period. It may, therefore, be the name of an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company to whom references are found in the records. In January 1680 a Thomas Moore is mentioned as having been in the service for seven years. This would suggest he had gone out in 1673 with Charles Bayly, who returned in the fall of 1679. Moore was a seaman who was promoted to trader while he was "in the Bay," probably on the authority of Bayly. The company did not rehire Moore, as he had requested, probably because they would not recognize his promotion by raising his wages.¹³ The map shows a building on an island in the Albany River as well as one at the Moose River, both of which were built by Bayly, and it shows, for the first time, Akimiski Island, which he discovered on 21 July 1674.¹⁴ The Albany River is called "Chechettan," the English name not having been given it until 1683. The map shows a diagrammatic pattern of rivers and lakes between the Albany River and Lake Superior, none of which could have been drawn from personal knowledge at that time, but which might well be taken to represent Moore's interpretation of statements by Radisson or Des Groseilliers, who claimed to have knowledge of this overland route. Radisson returned from Hudson Bay to England in 1673, but Des Groseilliers remained there until the summer of 1674, and he may have been with Bayly, and

12. British Museum, Add. Ms. 5027.a.58, reproduced in *Crown Collection*, 2d ser., vol. 5, no. 8.

13. *Minutes 1679-1684, First Part, 1679-82*, pp. 29, 287.

14. Mentioned in the journal of Thomas Gorst in Oldmixon, *British Empire*, 1: 397.

15. British Museum, Add. Ms. 5414(20), reproduced in part in *Copy-Book*, frontispiece.

16. *Copy-Book*, p. 125.

17. *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

18. *Minutes 1679-1684, First Part*, 1679-82, p. 61.

presumably Moore, when Akimiski Island was discovered. A more certain attribution for this map would be welcome, but in the present state of our knowledge it seems probable that its maker was Moore, the seaman turned trader who spent seven apparently thankless years "in the Bay."

The only other manuscript surviving from the 1680s is the fine chart, also in the British Museum, made by John Thornton and dated 1685.¹⁵ This represents the extent of English knowledge of the area just before French incursions disrupted the company's activities. The detailed insets on this map, with soundings showing the approaches to most of the posts, are remarkable and give us some idea of the sort of material that must have been available to the company. One of the insets, which shows the Albany and Moose rivers, was probably based on the work of Michael Grimington, who was commended to the governor by the company in 1684 as "being an old servant & may be very usefull to you who knowes well the Navigations to Hayes Island and Albany River whose Industry & care in Discovering a new & bolder River to that Factorey we have recompensed for his paines and shall all such as makes us new Discoveries."¹⁶ It was in the following year that Thornton was paid four pounds for "haveing Drawen out very curiously the Map of Hudson's Bay upon parchment."¹⁷

Other charts are known to have existed at the time. In 1680 Thornton had been paid for "3 Chartes of the Bottome of the Bay," two of which were for captains about to leave on a voyage, and the third to be reserved for the use of the company.¹⁸ Although none of these manuscripts has been found, with the company's records or elsewhere, the company's interest in charts as a basic necessity was obvious. It is likely that other payments for charts of one kind or another were included in general entries in the records, which sometimes mention compasses, glasses, "and other things." It is clear, however, that the company had no reason to encourage the printing or dissemination of the information on the manuscript maps at its disposal.

When Radisson and Des Groseilliers left the English service temporarily and went over to France, it was said that Radisson had "carried off an English map," apparently a manu-

script, and various influential Frenchmen were anxious to get at it. Abbé Claude Bernou, who was active in connection with these and other North American colonizing and exploring projects, learned of it, and in 1684 he wrote to an associate who had apparently procured the map, "As for the map of Hudson Bay, have it copied as quickly as possible, if you have not already done so. You will give pleasure to the Cardinal as well as to Father Coronelli."¹⁹ In this way the cartographer Vincenzo Coronelli could have learned of the English trading posts and explorations in Hudson Bay; he incorporated this information in his *Amerique Septentrionale*, one of a group of maps by him published in Paris in 1689.²⁰ Maps based on French sources have very different outlines for Hudson Bay and, of course, different place names, but Coronelli's map shows the new outline of the bottom of the bay as well as the names of Rupert's River and Charles Fort.

19. Nute, "Radisson," pp. 204, 206.

20. The publication of maps in Paris by Vincenzo Coronelli has recently been discussed by Dr. Helen Wallis in her introduction to the facsimile of his *Libro dei Globi* (Amsterdam, 1969), especially p. viii.

Map 6

1. Phillips, *Atlases*, 4260, no. 86; see also *ibid.*, 486, no. 23, and 3436, vol. 2, no. 31; National Maritime Museum, *Catalogue of the Library*, vol. 3, pt. 1 (London, 1971), no. 271 (102).

2. Ms. note by Coolie Verner in the John Carter Brown Library.

3. CSP/AWI, 30 July 1678, no. 769; Jacobsen, *Blathwayt*, pp. 407 and 90-91. The item is entered under 24 June 1678 in Add. Ms. 9767. Another entry, of £2 15s., for "Books of Maps, histories and Voyages relating to the East and West Indies, out of France" is dated 25 March of the same year.

Le Canada, ou Nouvelle France, &c. Ce qui est le plus avancé vers le Septentrion est tiré de diverses Relations des Anglois, Danois, &c. Vers le Midy les Costes de Virginie, Nouvllle Suede, Nouveau Pays Bas, et Nouvelle Angleterre Sont tirées de celles des Anglois, Hollandois, &c. La Grande Riviere de Canada ou de St Laurens, et tous les environs sont suivant les Relations des Francois. Par N. Sanson d'Abbeville Geographe ordinaire du Roy. A Paris. Chez Pierre Mariette Rue S. Iacque a l'Esperance Avecq Privilege du Roy, pour vingt Ans. 1656. I. Somer Sculpsit

Engraved, colored, 39.9 x 54 cm. Watermark same general type as Heawood 673, but smaller and with a countermark containing the initials A R joined by a crescent

Only one state of this map is recorded, although the present copy shows possible traces of erasure in the second line of the imprint, pointing to the possibility that it may at first have read "Chez l'Authneur . . ." instead of "Chez Pierre Mariette . . .," as is the case with a number of other maps by Nicolas Sanson. First published separately in 1656, it was included as early as 1658 in *Cartes Générales de Toutes les Parties du Monde*, published by Sanson and Pierre Mariette.¹ It was reprinted several times without change in the date or in any of its geographical features. The watermark is of the same type as one that is recorded as occurring in an undated Sanson atlas of about 1669, and this is in turn apparently similar to an unidentified mark in maps included in atlases dated 1670 and 1675.²

In July 1678 the Lords of Trade and Plantations examined some books and maps bought by Blathwayt on a recent visit to Paris. They seemed "well pleased with the collection" and approved the expenditure of almost forty pounds.³ Unfortunately no list of these purchases has survived, but it seems probable that Map 6 (as well as Maps 26, 27, 28, and 31) was among the items chosen by Blathwayt. The incidence of the

watermarks mentioned above is not inconsistent with this suggestion.

Sanson's map of Canada, compiled more than twenty years earlier, was not an up-to-date publication when it was included in the atlas. More recent English information concerning the seaboard colonies and Hudson Bay had rendered much of it obsolete, but it was still the best available printed map of French Canada at the time of Blathwayt's purchases. In its time it had been a fresh compilation, as stated in its long title, utilizing English, Danish, and Dutch as well as French sources. No general study has been made of these sources although the map has been listed and discussed in works devoted to several areas.⁴ It may be noted here that the Hudson Bay area shows a close resemblance to the Champlain-Du Val *Le Canada* in its first revision of 1653.⁵

The engraver, Jean Somer, was responsible for many of Sanson's maps, including Map 26. A greatly reduced version of Map 6, with an abbreviated title, appeared in Sanson's *L'Amerique en Plusieurs Cartes* in 1657 and later editions.

4. Cumming, *South-east*, no. 48; Louis C. Karpinski, *Bibliography of the Printed Maps of Michigan* (Lansing, 1931), pp. 31, 90. For a list of references to Sanson, see Woodbury Lowery, *The Lowery Collection: A Descriptive List of the Maps of the Spanish Possessions within the Present Limits of the United States, 1502-1820*, ed. P. Lee Phillips (Washington, D.C., 1912), no. 136n.

5. Lawrence C. Wroth, "An Unknown Champlain Map of 1616," *Imago Mundi* 11 (1954): 85-94.

Map 7

1. K. 119.97, listed in *BMMs Maps*, 3: 556. The attribution to William Hack, made as long ago as 1861, is no longer considered valid by the British Museum, and the grounds for the attributed date 1666 are not known. Differences in content noted in comparison of this map with Map 7 are the spelling of Canada and the omission of "English" from the scale of leagues on the British Museum map. The vellum sheet of Map 7 is smaller in both dimensions by about 7 mm.

2. *Découverte et Évolution Cartographique de Terre-Neuve et des Pays Circonvoisins* (London, 1900), pp. ii-xxii, and chap. 22.

[Newfoundland and Surrounding Areas. Before 1671?]

Manuscript, on vellum, in colors with gold touches,
47.8 x 55.5 cm

Inscription on reverse in Blathwayt's hand: *Newfoundland*

This unsigned map of Newfoundland and the surrounding area is in the style of the Thames school (see Introduction). The hand is not the same as that of any other manuscript in the atlas, and it cannot be assigned to any of the makers of surviving Thames school maps that carry signatures. Another anonymous manuscript map of almost identical content and general characteristics but entirely different in coloring and in a different hand exists in the British Museum.¹ The slight variations between the two manuscripts give no information as to the dates or makers of either of these maps.

Newfoundland was probably the earliest part of the American continent known to the English, and its offshore fisheries were of commercial value even before the time of Columbus and Cabot. The development of the cartography of the island during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, does not reflect the extent of knowledge that certainly existed. Widely varying concepts of the shape of Newfoundland are represented on surviving maps, and some of them may be observed in maps of larger areas in the Blathwayt Atlas, for instance, in Maps 1-6. The extremely irregular outline of the island, with its numerous bays and peninsulas, was alone sufficient to postpone for generations any real approach to accuracy, which was not achieved until the extensive surveys of James Cook in 1763-67.

The early period of Newfoundland cartography was studied intensively by Henry Harrisse in 1900, but his work is far from complete for the English maps of the island, and he states that he had not seen the British Museum manuscript that corresponds to Blathwayt Map 7.² A reassessment of

Harrisse's opinions has long been overdue. Over a period of many years the late G. R. F. Prowse carried on an investigation of the whole field of Newfoundland cartography, but his incomplete work exists only in the form of mimeographed notes.³ Recently a preliminary survey of the seventeenth-century cartography of Newfoundland has been compiled by a former lieutenant-governor of the island, the Honorable Fabian O'Dea.⁴ He recognized that the English contribution toward the mapping of Newfoundland during the seventeenth century had more originality than was credited to it by Harrisse. Both Prowse and Mr. O'Dea were familiar with Map 7 as well as the British Museum map. Neither was able to fit Map 7 into any group or sequence of maps on the basis of its geographical outlines. Mr. Prowse was at first inclined to believe that it was compiled as early as 1600 but later modified his estimate to about 1630, chiefly on the basis of a resemblance to the outline of Newfoundland on the map "Nova Francia" by Hessel Gerritsz in the 1630 edition of Joannes de Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien*.⁵ Such resemblance as there is seems to be fortuitous. Mr. O'Dea suggests a more realistic date of about 1660, basing his opinion in part on the geographical outlines and considering also other factors, including its evident kinship with other Thames school manuscripts. Other suggestions have ranged from 1650 to 1670.⁶

Map 7 presents an anomaly to anyone who approaches it from the point of view of the geography of the island in general and the growth of knowledge of its outlines. Apparently it was not the primary interest of the cartographer to present an outline of the island. The eastern coast from Cape Race to Cape Bonavista is shown on a very much larger scale than any other part of the map, although it is completely unrelated to the scale of leagues at the lower right. If this section is rotated about forty-five degrees to the left it shows a much closer approximation to the actual geography than any other part of the map, with the exception of the great exaggeration of the size of Saint John's Harbour. The remainder of the Newfoundland coast and the surrounding areas have a stylized, pictorial quality that suggests the sort of map that might be used in a modern advertising circular. The

3. George R. F. Prowse, "Cartological material," mimeographed, 4 vols. (Winnipeg, 1936-44).

4. "The Seventeenth Century Cartography of Newfoundland," mimeographed, 41 pp. (31 March 1969). Mr. O'Dea illustrated his essay with reduced facsimiles (5.1 x 5.1 cm) of the representations of Newfoundland from 35 maps, 1597 to 1700. It has since been printed as Monograph no. 1 of *Cartographica* (Toronto, 1971). An up-to-date bibliographical study of English Newfoundland maps of the period is very much needed as the basis for further discussion of this difficult and challenging subject.

5. G. R. F. Prowse to Lawrence C. Wroth, librarian, the John Carter Brown Library, 3 March, and 16 June 1930, with enclosures.

6. Professor E. R. Seary of the Memorial University of Newfoundland, who has recently published *Place Names of the Avalon Peninsula* (Toronto, 1971), is of the opinion that the names on the map are not inappropriate for a date of 1630-40.

7. P. 16.

8. For example, the untitled, anonymous map first published in Sir William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies* (London, 1624), and the map "Insula olim vocata Noua Terra" by Captain John Mason, first published in William Vaughan, *Cambrensiū Caroleia* (London, 1625).

9. *Acts of the Privy Council of England. Colonial Series*, vol. 1, 10 March 1671, no. 916.

10. CSP/AWI, 1677, no. 406; British Museum, Add. Ms. 13972 (attributed to William Hack in *BMMs Maps*, 3: 556); and a copy in the John Carter Brown Library (*Report*, 1943, pp. 18-23). A printed version of this map was included in the 1706 edition of *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book*, with the title, "A Chart of ye Iland of New Found Land with ye Particular Harbors at larg." The map may have been used in some copies of the first edition of 1689, although it is not found in either of the two surviving examples (see the introduction by Coolie Verner to the facsimile of the British Museum copy, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, 4th ser., vol. 1 [Amsterdam, 1967]).

Another manuscript map of Newfoundland by Captain Robert Robinson, made about the same time, is in the Bodleian Library, in a volume that once belonged to Samuel Pepys. There is no way of knowing whether this naval document was

section of the coast that is overemphasized by scale was the chief area of the English fishing interest, established by long-standing tradition and generally avoided by the French and Basque fishermen who frequented the south and the northeast coasts. The tradition of mapping this particular stretch of coastline separately may have originated very early in sketch maps made by skippers of the fishing fleets for their own use. As presented on Map 7, the enlarged coast between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista seems to have been derived directly or indirectly from some such map or chart. The representation of Saint John's Harbour on a much larger scale than the rest of the coast may indicate that the original source showed it in the form of an enlarged inset. Since coastal sketches made by mariners often did not show scale, the relationship could have been misunderstood by the unknown compiler of the map.

The source of the place name "Cambalu," which is conspicuous on the Labrador coast north of Newfoundland on Map 7, has not yet been satisfactorily identified. The name was used for Peking by Marco Polo and later travelers and can be found in this connection on maps as early as the Catalan Atlas of 1375, as well as on the sixteenth-century maps of Asia by Ortelius and others. The name occurs in the English renderings of the travelers' accounts in Hakluyt's *Voyages*. In the second half of the seventeenth century the name reappears on the Labrador coast in several English engraved maps, chiefly those associated with John Thornton (for example, Blathwayt Maps 4 and 5). The earliest connection of the name with Labrador seems to have been in 1620 in Richard Whitbourne's *Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land*. He suggested that a search might be made for a northwest passage "neere the height of 64 degrees" by sailing "along the North part of New-found-land, and that Coast which is called Cambaleu."⁷ If Whitbourne saw a map with this name on the Labrador coast, it must have been one now lost, and how the name of Kubla Khan's city came to be transferred half around the world is a mystery. Perhaps the name as used by Whitbourne and the later English map makers has nothing to do with the Chinese Cambalu but is rather a corruption of one of the many names associated with

northeast North America in sixteenth-century maps.

The special problems of the Newfoundland fisheries and the disputes arising from conflicting interests of the permanent settlers and the seasonal fishing fleets were frequently on the agenda of the Lords of Trade, as well as on those of the earlier councils that had dealt with colonial matters before 1675. In the earlier years very few English maps of the island were available to administrators except for the printed maps accompanying some of the colonization tracts of the 1620s.⁸ In 1671, certainly, the Council for Plantations was not satisfied with the information it had at hand. In orders for the captains of naval vessels convoying the annual fishing fleets, the council required them to "take an Account of the Names Scituations, and distances of The seuerall Ports, Harbours, Bayes and Islands in and about Newfoundland between Cape Race and Cape Bona vista."⁹ Although the desired information could be expressed in words and figures, it would seem also to call for a map. At any rate, about the end of 1677 or the beginning of 1678 the Lords of Trade drew up a report accompanied by a map that probably had resulted from the order of 1671. Three manuscripts of this map survive, all of them associated with copies of the report and all of them products of Thames school copyists.¹⁰ Several charts also accompanied an account of Newfoundland ports and distances by Captain Henry Southwood. Although not printed until 1689, in the earliest publication of *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book*,¹¹ Southwood's information was gathered and compiled in 1675 and 1677, probably in pursuance of the 1671 order of the Lords of Trade.

If the members of the Plantations Council were looking for better cartographic information on Newfoundland in 1671, it seems likely that they had before them a map or maps as unsatisfactory as Map 7. The secretary of the council at that time was Henry Slingsby, who several years later was reimbursed for certain expenses he had incurred in the course of his work. In addition to expenses for copying papers "from the Rolls" he was paid £1 5s. 6d. "for a Map of Newfoundland in vellum wch. was his own." This payment was not made until 24 June 1676,¹² after the council he served with had been replaced by the Lords of Trade, whose new secre-

passed on in any form to the Lords of Trade.

Available also was an undated engraved publication of John Seller, *A Mapp of Newfoundland*, which differs in many respects from the smaller representation of the island on his *Chart of the Coast of America* (attributed by Harris to 1671, but possibly not before 1675, often referred to as the Seller map of Newfoundland). The *Mapp* is not well known because of its rarity, the only copy recorded being in the Huntington Library (Museum Book Store catalogue 105 [1927], no. 560). It has been attributed to ca. 1680 but may well be earlier. A note engraved in the interior of the island states, "Captain Richard Lord in this and the adjacent Lakes and Rivers, aquiered a good Estate, in 3 years, in and about these Lakes & Rivers, 1647 & 1653."

11. Pp. 13-23.

12. Add. Ms. 9767.

tary, Sir Robert Southwell, was anxious to get possession of maps that had been used by his predecessors (see Introduction). The map for which Slingsby received payment from the Lords of Trade may have been Map 7. Although many things about it remain difficult to explain, the date at least can be established as earlier than 1671.

Map 8

[New England, Showing Massachusetts Boundaries. 1678]

Manuscript, in ink on vellum, 55.7 x 65.7 cm

Inscriptions on reverse: *Merrimack River* *This Map was Copied out of an Originall lent by Mr. Stoughton & Bulkeley Agents of Boston* [In Blathwayt's hand:] *Memorandum*
This map was exactly Copied about 1678 from an Original lent Sr. Robert Southwell by Mr. Stoughton and Mr. Buckley— Two Agents from New England.

1. Add. Ms. 9767.

In the third inscription on the back of this map Blathwayt at first wrote that it was copied in 1679, then, correcting himself, changed the date to 1678. The accounts of the Plantations Office contain an entry under 29 September 1678, covering a number of expenses: "Expended in the business of New England, for making search into, and extracting the Commissions, Letters-patents, Quo Warranto and other papers: as alsoe for drawing a Map of the Country: and to Mr. Randolph for his journey to Cornbury to find out the Journals of the Council of Plimouth and other charges as pr. accot. £10 06 10."¹

There is little doubt that the map referred to in this entry is Map 8. The occasion for drawing, or copying, a map was connected with a mission from the Bay Colony that lasted from 1676 to 1679, one of several attempts to avert or postpone the revocation of the colony's charter, which finally took place in 1684. The question is, What was the map of New England that Stoughton and Bulkeley had with them in London? No map now known to exist could have been the original, and the clue to its identity must, therefore, be sought in documents rather than in maps of the period.

The most prominent features of Map 8—the latitude scale, the "Paralel" lines, and the conspicuous Merrimack River—indicate that it was intended to be an exposition of the boundary claims resulting from the ambiguous wording of

2. Stewart Mitchell, ed., "The Founding of Massachusetts," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 62 (October 1928-June 1929): 252-53.

3. Samuel Abbott Green, *Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to New England* (Boston, 1902), p. 23, and Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 vols. (Boston, 1884-89), 3: insert following p. 380.

the 1629 Massachusetts charter, which defined the colony's territory as,

All that parte of Newe England in America . . . betweene a greate River . . . called Monomack alias Merriemack and a certen other River there called Charles River. . . . And also . . . those landes . . . lyeing within the space of three English Myles on the South parte of the saide Charles River, or of any, or everie parte thereof. . . . And also all those landes . . . which lye and be within the space of three English Myles to the Northward of the saide River called Monomack alias Merrymack or to the Northward of any and every parte thereof. And all landes . . . lyeing within the lymyttes aforesaide North and South in latitude and bredth, and in length and longitude of and within all the bredth aforesaide throughout the mayne landes there from the Atlantick and westerne Sea and Ocean on the East Parte, to the South Sea on the west parte.²

At the time when these provisions were written and the document passed under the Great Seal of England, it was assumed that both the Merrimack and the Charles rivers ran in a general west-to-east direction and were appropriate boundaries for the new colony. Familiarity with the courses of the rivers naturally increased after the settlements were made. On the sketch map in the British Museum known as the Waters-Winthrop map, a note by John Winthrop, written probably in 1637 or 1638, said of the Merrimack River that "it runnes 100 miles up into the Countrey & falles out of a ponde 10: miles abroad."³ Certainly within a few years the Massachusetts men were aware that the Merrimack's source was well to the north and that the river flowed southward for more than fifty miles before turning southeast and eastward in its course toward the sea. This circumstance seemed to the rulers of Massachusetts to enlarge the size of their territory, for according to the charter they were entitled to the land as far as three miles north of "any and every parte" of the river. Therefore, they reasoned, their northern boundary should be a parallel of latitude three miles north of the source of the river. Such a claim would give them jurisdiction over the small coastal settlements founded under other patents and

located north of the Merrimack River in Maine and New Hampshire. In 1652 the Massachusetts General Court sent an official expedition to ascertain the source of the river and establish the latitude of its northernmost point. The source was declared to be the outlet at the southern end of Lake Winnepesaukee. The following year a similar expedition by sea marked the latitudinal line from the river's source as running through an island in Casco Bay. Thereafter, Massachusetts claimed this line as its northern boundary, extending its jurisdiction in practice over the Maine and New Hampshire settlements. Nothing appears in the colony records, however, to show that an official map was made at the time.

4. Manuscript copy of instructions, Clarendon Papers, p. 33, John Carter Brown Library. A slightly different wording is in the printed *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (Boston, 1854), pp. 182-83.

The Royal Commissioners and the William Reed Map of 1665

In 1664, four years after the Restoration, Charles II sent to America four commissioners whose primary purpose was to seize New Amsterdam from the Dutch. The commissioners—Colonel Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick—were also charged with the duty of visiting the several New England colonies to investigate conditions and make certain that the royal authority was established. They were also to investigate and report on boundary disputes. In this regard their instructions for dealing with the Massachusetts authorities were specific: “You shall desire them, as soone as conveniently you can, that they deliver to you a draught or Mapp of their limitts and jurisdiction they lay claime to.”⁴

After the capture of New Amsterdam the commissioners were able to turn their attention to New England, and on 15 March 1665 three of them wrote from Newport to the governor and council of Massachusetts: “That we may prevent all mistakes in the king’s busines, though Colonell Niccolls in July & ourselves in February last, desired that a map of your jurisdiction & limits might be made ready, we now send you our desires & the Kings instructions to us in that particular under our hands. We hope to be with you in

5. *Records of the Governor*, p. 183.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 187.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

the beginning of May at the furthest, (if God blesse us,) against which time we desire the map of your limitts may be ready. We shall not trouble you to send any to shew us your southerne bounds, they being uncontroverted, & at so great a distance from you." A postscript, signed by all four commissioners, added: "This mapp or draught within mentioned we desire may be made with all exactnes possible, & with all speed convenient deliuered to us; for without it we shall neither well understand your bounds, nor be understood in discoursing of them."⁵

On 5 May 1665 the General Court replied to the commissioners, mentioning that steps had been taken to satisfy their desire for a map of the colony.⁶ Actually on 3 May the court had ordered "Capt. Edward Johnson & Mr. Wm. Steevens to draw up a map of this colony which they are to doe with the greatest care & best exactness they can, & are impoured to call in & make use of what artists they shall judge needfull, the charge whereof is to be defrayed by the Country Treasurer."⁷ The work was accomplished, and the records of the General Court contain an entry for 1 June: "This Court having imployed Mr. Wm Reed, of Boston, together with some other gentlemen of the Court, to draw up an exact mapp of his majesties colonie of the Massachusetts, which accordingly he hath effected, in consideration whereof this Court doeth order the country treasurer to pay the said Mr. Reed the summe of ten pounds, in the best pay that is in his hands, upon the delivery of one draught more then he hath already given into this Court."⁸

There were several men named William Reed living in or near Boston at the time, no one of whom seems to have had any special qualifications for making maps, and the identity of the one who was paid to "draw up" the map has not been established. The sources available to him in 1665 are also a matter of conjecture. Probably he used one or more manuscripts of which no copy has survived to our day. The delineation of the Merrimack River and Lake Winnepesaukee in particular is quite likely to have been derived from unknown manuscript material. Captain Edward Johnson, one of the committee appointed to procure this map, had been a member of the 1652 Merrimack River expedition, and his

firsthand knowledge as well as any sketch maps made at that time should have been easily available to Reed. The southern coastline of New England was probably based on a Dutch original ("Chalup's Bay" and "Anchor Bay" in Narragansett Bay are Dutch place names, going back to the exploration of Adriaen Block), but no published Dutch map of the period has exactly the same outlines.

The number of copies of the map made for the General Court is not clear from the record. There may have been three, or even more. One copy became part of the commissioners' archives a week before the order for payment was entered. On 24 May the secretary of the General Court wrote to the commissioners: "We have herewith sent you a map of the lands we conceive to be granted us by our charter. Our southerly limitts are uncontroverted, (so farr as we know;) & as yourselves are pleased to expresse some pretences & claimes we know are made against our northerly line, in relation whereto we shall be ready when ever you please, by writting or conference with yourselves & other gentn concerned therein, to declare the grounds & reasons of our claime. . . ." An undated document covering eight pages in the Massachusetts Records, headed "Certaine reasons tending to manifest that the patent right of the northerly line of the Charter doeth belong to the Massachusetts colony in New England," was also given to the commissioners and was certainly intended to explain and accompany the map. The document goes into detail as to the northern boundary, and appended to it are affidavits concerning the Merrimack River exploration of 1652 and the Casco Bay expedition of the following year, as well as other affidavits, dated as late as 17 May 1665, maintaining that the true source of the Merrimack was Lake Winnepesaukee.⁹

Although the commissioners' negotiations made little progress, Carr and Maverick stayed on in New England while Nicolls, the chairman, went to New York as governor of the territory recently taken over from the Dutch. George Cartwright was chosen to carry the commissioners' papers and records to London and report on the mission. He sailed in August, probably soon after the first of the month, when he left Carr and Maverick at Nantucket.¹⁰ Nicolls, supposing

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 236-43. Geographers have established that the Merrimack is formed by the junction at Franklin, New Hampshire, of the Pemigewasset and the Winnepesaukee rivers. The latter has its source in the southern outlet of the lake.

10. *CSP/AWI*, 20 November 1665, no. 1089.

11. *Ibid.*, 31 July 1665, no. 1026.

12. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 3 (Albany, 1853), p. 111.

13. *CSP/AWI*, 20 November 1665, no. 1089.

14. *Ibid.*, 9 April 1666, no. 1169.

that Cartwright was already at sea, wrote from New York to Lord Arlington, the secretary of state, that "all transactions of the colonies," including the maps, were being sent home in the care of the fourth commissioner.¹¹

The Second Dutch War was in progress at the time. The ship in which Cartwright was a passenger sailed slowly, keeping company with a vessel heavily laden with masts, and was overtaken by a Dutch privateer. After a brief fight the Dutch plundered the ship but spared the passengers and put them ashore in Spain. Cartwright's papers were lost, and the maps with them, probably thrown overboard to prevent their capture, and without them he eventually made his way to London. In December he gave from memory a lengthy report on the New England mission, and in connection with the Massachusetts boundary problems he referred to the map: "They caused at length a Mapp of their Territories to be made, but it was made in a chamber by direction and guess. In it they claime Fort Albany, and beyond it all the lands to the South Sea. By their South line they intrench upon the Colonies of new Plymouth, Rode Island, and Conecticot; and on the East [i.e., the eastern part of the northern boundary] they have usurped Captain Mason's and Sir Ferdinand Gorges patents."¹²

Cartwright's description of the William Reed map of 1665 is the only evidence as to its characteristics provided by anyone who had seen it. The same features are evident in Map 8 except for the claim to Fort Albany. On Map 8 Albany is not shown, although the claim is there by implication because the latitudinal boundary lines extend indefinitely westward.

Nicolls, in New York, received a rumor of Cartwright's mishap as early as November 1665, and he wrote to Arlington that the loss of the original papers "and the maps of the several Colonies" had put the commissioners "into no little confusion."¹³ It seems, however, that he was in no hurry to replace the lost documents, because several months passed before he sent to London copies of the papers concerning New England.¹⁴ His covering letter does not mention maps, and so there is no way of knowing whether Nicolls had an extra copy of the William Reed map or whether he made any attempt to get a duplicate from Boston. The letter with the

replaced papers must have crossed at sea a communication from Charles II recalling the commission and commending it for its work. Acting on the basis of Cartwright's report, the king left the affairs of Massachusetts to be settled later.¹⁵ By the time the duplicate papers reached London, therefore, they were no longer current and probably received little attention.

Five years later a search for a map of New England was made by the Council for Plantations. On 4 February 1671 Colonel Nicolls appeared before it to provide information concerning New England and New York; he promised to return another day with "some Maps of New England, New Netherlands & Acadia."¹⁶ In the following months there were numerous discussions of New England affairs by the council, and occasionally there is mention of a map. The secretary was instructed to seek a map of New England from William Chiffinch, who was in charge of the king's private collections. There was also a search made for papers dealing with New England in Lord Arlington's office. At one point Cartwright, who had been summoned to London from Gravesend, stated that in 1665 the commissioners had sent to the king at Oxford a map of New England and a book of 111 pages in folio containing narratives of the proceedings of the commissioners and that he "believed" it had been delivered to one of the secretaries of state. The brief minutes of the council meetings contain no identification or description of the map sought for, and there is no evidence it was ever seen by the council members. Certainly it has not been discovered since.

The Stoughton-Bulkeley Copy of the William Reed Map

The commissioners' visit to Massachusetts produced controversy but settled nothing concerning the colony's boundaries. The matter hung fire for some years, and friction over the New Hampshire and Maine settlements continued until, in 1676, the British authorities demanded that agents be sent to London to explain the stand of the colony. William Stoughton and Peter Bulkeley,¹⁷ the agents appointed, sailed

15. *Ibid.*, 10 April 1666, no. 1171.

16. "Journal of the Council for Plantations from ye 3d of August 1670, to ye 20th of September 1672. As also of the Council for Trade & Plantations from ye 13th of October 1672 to ye 22th of Decber 1674," pt. 1, pp. 36 ff., Philipps Collection, item 8539, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

17. John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 1: 194-208 and 2: 68-71. For Stoughton, see also the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

18. CSP/AWI, 17 July 1677, no. 342.

19. Robert N. Toppan, ed., *Edward Randolph: Including His Letters and Official Papers . . .*, vol. 3 (Boston, 1899), pp. 3-4.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

21. *Records of the Governor*, p. 120.

22. Massachusetts Archives, Boston, vol. 58, document 92a. First noticed by J. H. Tuttle in "Early Manuscript Maps of New England," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, 17: 112-15. James Taylor is known to have been active as a surveyor in the 1660s and 1670s in Massachusetts.

for England later in the same year on a mission of long duration, which they handled with tact and diplomacy but without much success. The boundary provisions of the charter were referred to the judicial authorities for interpretation, and in July 1677 the Lords Chief Justices, reporting to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, disallowed the "imaginary line" of the northern boundary and brought to an end the dispute over the meaning of that part of the charter.¹⁸

The troubles of the Massachusetts agents did not end, however, with this adverse decision. Many other points of controversy were brought up and criticisms of the colony's attitude toward the royal authority were gone into until, finally, the Lords of Trade, on 16 May 1678, ordered a complete report to be drawn up by Sir Robert Southwell "reciting all things that are past, from the first settlement of New England."¹⁹ In July of the same year at a meeting of the Lords of Trade, Southwell gave "an account of the Report hee had in hand of the whole matter from the Root, which when ready will enable their Lordships to take final resolutions upon the whole affair of New England."²⁰

Southwell apparently worked diligently on the report, using the records and documents available to him. When he needed others, he wrote to William Stoughton, asking him to supply them. It may have been in connection with this report that Stoughton sent to Southwell the manuscript map from which Map 8 was copied, according to the notation Blathwayt made on it at a later time.

Before the Massachusetts agents left Boston, a committee of the General Court, including Edward Rawson, the secretary, had been appointed "for ye examining & preparing all writings & letters to be sent by our messengers for England, &c."²¹ One of the most important documents in connection with the boundary controversy was the William Reed map, a copy of which must have been in the files of the secretary, and it could hardly have been omitted from the dossier. Soon after Stoughton and Bulkeley sailed on their mission, Rawson authorized a payment of ten shillings to James Taylor, a surveyor, for copying a map that he described as the "Draft or plott of ye country wch ye Commissioners sent to his majtje had with them past."²² Taylor's letter of 11 January

1677 requesting the payment also referred to "Drawing a Draft or Plott of ye Country" and stated that Rawson had brought the original to him. It is certain, therefore, that at this time Rawson had in his possession a map of the colony, not now to be found in the archives, that seems to have been connected with the commissioners of 1665. The circumstances suggest that this was the file copy of the William Reed map and that the map Blathwayt said was lent to Sir Robert Southwell in 1678 was copied from Rawson's map by James Taylor for the use of the agents who were going to England. If this identification is correct, Map 8 is the first official map of Massachusetts and the first locally made map of New England—copied twice over, it is true, but copied by professionals under official supervision.

23. Richard B. Holman, "John Foster's Woodcut Map of New England," *Printing & Graphic Arts* 8 (1960): 53–93. See also David Woodward, "The Foster Woodcut Map Controversy: A Further Examination of the Evidence," *Imago Mundi* 21 (1967): 52–61. Both articles contain bibliographies of the literature concerning the production of the map in its American and English versions. Heretofore there has been no specific suggestion as to the identity of the map Hubbard said he used as a model.

The John Foster Woodcut Map of 1677

There is a strong family resemblance between the Reed-Taylor-Stoughton-Bulkeley-Southwell-Blathwayt manuscript map and a very well-known printed map of the same period. This is the woodcut, "A Map of New England," made by John Foster to illustrate William Hubbard's *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England*, printed in Boston in 1677 and also published in the same year in England. Because this crude map was the first ever printed in the United States, it has been the subject of a good deal of discussion by bibliographers and historians of the graphic arts, but the source of its design has never been identified.²³ The Foster map was made for Hubbard's book in order to make clear the location of the towns that had suffered attacks by the Indians during King Philip's War in 1675 and 1676, and the town symbols are keyed by numbers to a part of the text. The map covers almost exactly the same area as Map 8, and the two latitudinal lines so prominent on Map 8 appear also on Foster's woodcut, although they have no connection with the subject matter and are not labeled as boundaries. It can reasonably be assumed they were on the map he used as a model. There are, of course, differences between the Foster

map and Map 8, but their resemblances are so numerous and so characteristic that the two must have had a common source.

According to the title of the woodcut map, it was "the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best Pattern that could be had." It can now be suggested that the "best Pattern" Hubbard could find for the illustration of his narrative was the copy of William Reed's map that had remained in Boston.

Map 9

Novi Belgii Novaeque Angliae Nec Non Partis Virginiae Tabula multis in locis emendata a Hugo Allardt. [Amsterdam, ca. 1656?]

Engraved, 46.2 x 54.3 cm

Map 9 is a representative of the well-known sequence of Dutch maps of the northeastern colonies usually called the Jansson-Visscher or simply the Visscher series. The bibliographical complications of the series have most recently been analyzed, in 1965, by Tony Campbell.¹ None of the early forms of the map carries a date, but the first state of the earliest plate is usually considered to date from about 1651. Campbell identifies twenty-eight states from nine different copperplates. He describes (as no. 14) the state of which Map 9 is an example. This is the first state of the plate engraved by Hugo Allard² and is copied directly from the second state of the plate engraved by Nicolas Janszoon Visscher (Campbell's no. 5). The copying, so literal that it seems to have been done with the help of a tracing, is ascribed to about 1656, but it could have occurred somewhat later.

An attempt to identify the sources used by the compiler of the original map was made in 1916 by I. N. Phelps Stokes, who wrote: "The authorship of this important map is unfortunately shrouded in mystery, but it is clear that the map itself represents a cartographical encyclopedia, combining materials from practically all of the known maps available at the time, as well as from others which have since been lost."³ His high estimate of the quality of the information included in the map is justified for New Netherland, and to a lesser extent for the areas beyond its jurisdiction where the Dutch traders regularly traveled. Perhaps it was to be expected that the New England section would be less satisfactory, although it is remarkable to note the absence of the name of Boston, settled a few years later than New Amsterdam, but already

1. *New Light on the Jansson-Visscher Maps of New England*, Map Collectors' Circle, no. 24 (1965). The earliest work on the series appeared in G. M. Asher, *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland* (Amsterdam, 1854-67), Supplement, pp. 9-17. More information was included by I. N. Phelps Stokes (whose cartographical consultant was F. C. Wieder) in *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 6 vols. (New York, 1915-28), 1: 143-54 and 120-21. A list of states of the maps compiled by William G. Kelso, Jr., is on pp. 10-11 of Stokes and Daniel Haskell, *American Historical Prints* (New York, 1932). These references also discuss the view of New York inset on this and some other states of the map.

2. Hugo (or Huych) Allard (or Allardt) was the founder of a family of map makers, publishers, and printsellers in Amsterdam and was active in business from about 1645 until his death in 1691. He was the father of the better known Carel Allard and grandfather of Abraham and Hugo of the same name (Koeman, *Atlantes*, 1: 31). Dr. Koeman lists a much later state of the map on p. 45 as part of the contents of an atlas compiled in 1705.

3. *Iconography*, 1: 145.

4. See Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, 2d ed. (New York, 1960), p. 6.

5. *CSP/AWI*, no. 456.

6. Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland* (Baltimore, 1949), no. 36.

in 1650 a larger town,⁴ and also the perpetuation of some of the imaginary names from John Smith's 1614 *Map of New England*. Chesapeake Bay also is taken directly from Smith's map of Virginia, drawn in the early years of the Jamestown settlement, and it shows no trace of the rather considerable later activity in the area.

A copy of the Visscher map figured prominently in the disputes between William Penn and Lord Baltimore concerning the conflicts in their grants of Pennsylvania and Maryland, respectively, preceding the Order in Council of 13 November 1685.⁵ At Penn's insistence this out-of-date map was used in the boundary controversy rather than the far superior and more recent *Virginia and Maryland*, by Augustine Herrman, printed at London in 1673. The actual map used by Penn is now in the Garrett Collection at Johns Hopkins University. On it the boundary is drawn in ink, and on the back is Penn's notation: "The Map by which the privy Council 1685 settled the Bounds between the Lord Baltimore & I, & Maryland & Pennsylvania & Territorys or annexed Countys W P."⁶ This map of Penn's is the second state of the Visscher plate, from which Map 9 was copied, and the geographical content is identical. Whether or not Map 9 was referred to by Blathwayt and the Lords of Trade in connection with some stage of the Penn-Baltimore dispute cannot be established, but it was certainly available to them at the time. Before the map was inserted in the atlas, probably in 1683 or a little later, it had been folded in four and subjected to use and handling that caused considerable wear on the edges and apparently necessitated trimming its right-hand margin. All but the upper parts of a few letters from an inscription in ink on the back were thus removed. It contained no more than two words, not now identifiable.

Other copies of this, the first Allard state, are located in the New York Public Library and the British Museum.

Map 10

A Mapp of Virginia Mary-land, New-Jarsey, New-York, & New England. By John Thornton at the Sundyall in the Minories and by Robert Greene at ye Rose and Crowne, in Budg-rowe. London. [1678-79]

Engraved, colored, 52.8 x 43.8 cm

Varying dates have been assigned to this earliest state of the map, ranging from 1673 to 1682.¹ Lawrence C. Wroth, writing in 1943, pointed out that it contains the town name "Bridlington," one of the names given to Burlington, New Jersey, by the first settlers who arrived at the Delaware River in August 1677. Originally called New Beverley, then Bridlington, the settlement was renamed Burlington soon after its organization in the fall of the year. Mr. Wroth also indicated that the map must have been published before 1681, the date of Map 15, which is to some extent derived from it. There is also a somewhat earlier derivative, a small map in Robert Morden's *Geography Rectified*, which was advertised for sale in June 1680.² It seems reasonable to assign to Map 10 a date of 1678 or 1679.

Much of the material used by Thornton and Greene is from Augustine Herrman's map of Virginia and Maryland, published in 1673.³ The delineation of the southern and southeastern parts of New Jersey, as well as of Maryland and Virginia, is from that source, and it is one of a long list of maps based on Herrman's production. The upper right corner, showing the area around New York Bay and western Long Island, is not greatly different from the 1677 revision of the John Seller and William Fisher, *Mapp of New Jersey in America* (Map 13), and both may have been derived from the same unidentified source.

The depiction of the Delaware River is, as Mr. Wroth pointed out, different from Herrman's. It is closer to that shown on Map 13 but seems to have depended on some additional source of information. There are also several names

1. Henry Stevens and Roland Tree, *Comparative Cartography*, rev. ed., Map Collectors' Circle, no. 39 (1967), no. 88(a); I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, vol. 2 (New York, 1916), c.pl. 56 and p. 158; [Lawrence C. Wroth], *A Note on the William Penn Map of Pennsylvania (London, 1681) to Accompany the Facsimile Issued by the John Carter Brown Library* (Providence, 1943), reprinted in the commentary on Map 15.

2. Wing M-2619; *Term Catalogues*, 1: 404.

3. See the commentary on Maps 16 and 17.

4. Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, *The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New-Jersey* (Philadelphia, [1758]), p. 67.

and legends in western New Jersey that do not appear on Map 13 or any earlier map: "the Towneship of Antioch laid out by James Wasse" and "the Towneship of Bethlem laid out by Ja. Wasse." These towns, located respectively on the Cohansey River and on the eastern side of the Delaware, are shown with large areas around them enclosed by dotted lines. Up the Delaware at approximately the present site of Trenton is the legend "James Wasse Plant of 5000 Acres." All these legends must have resulted from the expedition of James Wasse, surgeon of London, who was commissioned to carry out one of the first projects of William Penn relating to American colonization.

The Expedition of James Wasse

The "Quintipartite Deed" of 1 July 1676 divided New Jersey into eastern and western sections under different proprietorships. William Penn and three associates signed as proprietors of the western portion, and a boundary was specified, no part of which was definite except for the location of its southern terminus, "a certain Place or Harbour lying on the Southern Part of the same Tract of Land, and commonly called or known in a Map of the said Tract of Land, by the name of Little Egg Harbour."⁴ The "Map of the said Tract" was probably one of the early forms of John Seller's *Mapp of New Jarsey* (see commentary on Map 13).

Since the whole region was as yet imperfectly mapped, its area not known, and the courses of the rivers undetermined, it was inevitable that difficult problems were going to arise when surveying for settlement was undertaken. Realizing this, Penn and the other West Jersey proprietors laid plans immediately after the signing of the deed for the beginning of activity in the new territory. They appointed three commissioners, two of whom were already in America—Richard Hartshorne in East New Jersey and Richard Guy, who had settled near Salem in West Jersey, where a settlement had been begun the year before by Major John Fenwick, whose claims to proprietorship were a matter of considerable con-

troversy. The third commissioner was James Wasse, who sailed for America in August 1676 on a ship commanded by Samuel Groome, mariner of Stepney, bound for Maryland. Wasse carried with him instructions which were very precise and detailed:

1. He was to find a surveyor. First he was to "enquire for one Agustín, who as we hear did sound most part of Delaware river and the creeks. . . . If you cannot get Agustín to go with you, or that he be unreasonable in his demands; then send a man to Thomas Bushroods, at Essex lodge, in York river, for William Elliot, who writes to Gawin Lawrie this year, and offered himself to be surveyor. . . . He had a good plantation in Virginia, but was not able to keep it; he is a fair conditioned sober man."
2. He was to meet with Hartshorne, the second commissioner, at Newcastle on the Delaware, and then announce to John Fenwick and his companions at Salem the new situation as to the proprietorship. If Fenwick accepted the new arrangements, his own surveyor might assist in laying out lands.
3. He was to take the surveyor up the Delaware River "as farr as over against Newcastell or further if you can soe farr as a vessell of 100 Tun can goe for Wee intend to have a way cut Cross ye Country to Sandy hook soe ye further up the River yt way will be ye shorter."
4. He was to locate a site for a town on the Delaware, purchase the land from the Indians, and "then lay out four or five Thousand Akers for a Towne and if Agustine will undertake to doe it reasonably Lett him doe it for He is the fittest Man and if He think he cannot Survey soe much being in the winter time then Let him Lay out ye less for a Towne at present If it be but two Thousand Akers." If Wasse could not remain until the town was surveyed (he was to return to England in Samuel Groome's ship, apparently the following spring), he was to leave directions with the surveyor to complete the job, "yet we thinke you may

5. Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New-Jersey* (Burlington, N.J., 1765), pp. 83–87. An abbreviated transcription of the instructions is also in William A. Whitehead, ed., *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey* (Newark, 1880), 1:219–24.

6. CSP/AWI, 19 September 1676, no. 1035. This journal of the ship *Young Prince* mentions Groome's ship on three occasions.

7. References to Herrman may be found in the discussion of Maps 16 and 17.

8. Whitehead, *Documents*, vol. 21, see index entries under *Hancock*.

9. Frank H. Stewart, *Major John Fenwick* (Woodbury, N.J., 1939).

stay untill you have not only pitched upon a Place for a Towne but alsoe upon a Place for a second Towne & setlment and have marked out ye place round about there."⁵

No report by James Wasse to Penn and the proprietors is on record. It appears from other sources, however, that he was able to carry out some of his assignments but certainly not all of them. It is most unlikely that he was able to employ either of the surveyors suggested by the proprietors. When Samuel Groome's ship arrived at the mouth of the James River on 30 October 1676, Bacon's Rebellion was in progress throughout Tidewater Virginia. Groome remained for two weeks assisting the fleet of ships that was active against the rebels and finally sailed on toward Maryland on 14 November.⁶ The disturbed state of the country would have made it impractical for Wasse to seek out William Elliot on the York River. As for the other suggestion—assuming that "Agustin" referred to Augustine Herrman—there might have been an opportunity to find him at his residence, Bohemia Manor, which lay on the route to Newcastle, where Wasse had been instructed to go. There is no indication, however, that Herrman became involved in the West Jersey project. He was, so far as is known, never available for casual jobs of surveying, and at that time he must have been well occupied in administering his own large estate.⁷ He was also over fifty years old and could hardly have been expected to travel in winter as a surveyor who was to be paid only "reasonably." Wasse was apparently forced to fall back on the third possibility, John Fenwick's surveyor, whose name was Richard Hancock.⁸

It is not known whether Wasse met Richard Hartshorne at Newcastle, but he did go to Fenwick's colony at Salem. Fenwick was not at all disposed to cooperate with the new proprietors, and furthermore he was involved in difficulties with Governor Andros, which brought about his arrest and imprisonment in New York. During his absence, as he later complained bitterly, "James Wasse and Richard Guy began vigorously to seize upon my said colony causing the same to be surveyed by Richard Hancock (my sworn surveyor-general) without my knowledge."⁹

Wasse probably went up the Delaware River, perhaps with Hancock, since the delineation of the river on Map 10 is not the same as on earlier maps. There is also, about at the falls, now the site of Trenton, the legend indicating that he had set aside 5,000 acres for his own use.

The towns of "Antioch" and "Bethlem" (Bethlehem) on the map represent the towns Wasse was instructed to lay out for Penn and the West Jersey proprietors. Neither of the names survived or was ever applied to a town,¹⁰ although the name *Antioch* occurs in a few surviving records of the period in the neighborhood of the present town of Cohansey.¹¹

If Wasse returned to England in the spring of 1677, some kind of report from him must have been available to the proprietors, although it may not have arrived before the first colonists set sail. The report would normally have been accompanied by some sort of map showing the locations of the towns he planned and the site he had chosen for a plantation of his own. Although the report and map are lost, some of their information survives in the content of the West Jersey area on Map 10.

Wasse never settled in New Jersey, but his name is found in connection with land transactions carried out through agents.¹² On John Worlidge's map of about 1700 the name "James Wass" occurs, this time on the west bank of the Prince Maurice River, although the names of his projected towns are omitted.¹³ They were picked up, as we have seen, on other maps as early as 1680 and showed great durability, occurring even into the eighteenth century and surviving on some of the maps published on the Continent and derived from out-of-date English sources.

10. This statement was confirmed by Ann H. Benson, reference librarian, The New Jersey Historical Society, in a letter to Jeannette D. Black, 15 April 1967.

11. Whitehead, *Documents*, 21: 397, 513, 550.

12. *Ibid.*, see index entries under *Wasse*.

13. *A New Mapp of East and West New Jarsey Being an Exact Survey by Mr. John Worlidge*, published by John Thornton, London [ca. 1700]. Reproduced in part in John E. Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609-1702* (Princeton, 1962), frontispiece.

The Inset

The inset, "A Mapp of New England," is an instance of the many puzzling differences on early English maps of that area, for which no thorough study is available. It is not surprising to find resemblances in outlines and place names linking this inset to John Seller's map of the same area, undated, but ad-

14. John Seller, *A Mapp of New England*, was advertised in the *London Gazette*, no. 1085 (10-13 April 1676). Reproduced in Stokes, *Iconography*, vol. 2, c. pl. 52, and separately by the Yale University Library, New Haven, 1973.

15. *Term Catalogues*, 1:372. Reproduced in Stokes, *Iconography*, vol. 2, c. pl. 51.

16. Robert N. Toppan, ed., *Edward Randolph: Including His Letters and Official Papers . . .*, vol. 2 (Boston, 1898), p. 199. For a later reference to a map by Randolph, see p. 26.

advertised for sale in April 1676.¹⁴ Most of these resemblances, however, relate to the eastern part of the map. The area west of Narragansett Bay and all of Long Island come from a different model. In general, this part of the inset map shows improvement over the Seller map as well as over the New England portion of Map 11, published in 1676.

On the other hand, the outlines and place names of Richard Daniel's *Map of ye English Empire in ye Continent of America*, also undated but advertised for sale in November 1679,¹⁵ are close enough to suggest a common source for that map and this inset, although the Daniel map shows additional detail and some improved outlines. The observed relationship of the Seller and Daniel maps to the inset map are in line with the 1678-79 publication date attributed to Map 10.

In speculating as to a possible source for this inset, it should be noted that the instructions given Edward Randolph on his first mission to Boston, drawn up by the Lords of Trade on 20 March 1676, suggested that "an exact Map of the whole Country and Town of Boston, if it can be procured, will bee of very great use and service."¹⁶ If Randolph had been able to carry out this suggestion during his three-month visit, the map might later have become available for a publisher's use. His voluminous reports and letters, however, do not indicate whether or not he was able to procure any map of New England for the Lords of Trade.

States of the Map

1. 1678-79—British Museum (2 copies); John Carter Brown Library, Blathwayt Map 10
2. 1678-79?—"Hore Kill or Dillewar R" placed near the Schuylkill River changed to "Skoole Kill or Dillewar R"; "Shakamaxon" and "George Heathnut's Land" added on west bank of Delaware River above Schuylkill; "Cohansey" added in southwestern New Jersey
—New York Public Library

3. After 1682——“Philadelphia,” “Chester,” and “Chichester” added; “Wicoco” moved to east side of Delaware River, which is named; “Part of Pensilvania” added, replacing “Mary” of “Maryland”; “Sasquahana or Indian fort” reengraved——Library of Congress; Henry E. Huntington Library

Map II

1. Notably the series of maps based on Thornton, Morden, and Lea of 1685, later published by Lea alone. See Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland* (Baltimore, 1949), no. 123.

2. This was possibly a false start by the engraver on the name "Mount-hope."

3. See Gregory King, 1648-1712, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*; also, E. G. R. Taylor, *Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 260.

A Map of New England New Yorke New Iersey Mary-Land & Virginia Sould by Robert Morden at ye Atlas in Corn-hill neer ye Royal Exchange and by William Berry at ye Globe between York House & ye New Exchange in ye Strande London Gr. King sculpsit [1676]

Engraved, on vellum, 44.5 x 52.4 cm

Maps 11 and 12 are impressions from the same engraved copperplate on different materials. Map 11 is an example of engraving on vellum, while Map 12 is on paper and was used in the Plantations Office to illustrate certain colonial boundaries, which were outlined in watercolor.

No listing or description of this map has been found, although numerous maps with roughly similar titles covering approximately the same areas appeared from 1685 onward.¹ Their content is quite different, however, and this map published by Morden and Berry apparently had no direct derivatives. Its publication date is established by an advertisement in the *London Gazette* for 14-17 February 1676. Only two other copies have been located: an uncolored copy, on paper, in the Yale University Library, acquired in 1955; and a copy on paper with colored boundaries added, in quite a different fashion from Map 12, in the John Carter Brown Library, acquired from an unknown source before 1900. All these examples show the erasure of a name, indecipherable, just above "Warwick" in the Rhode Island area.²

The map was compiled from several sources, at least two of which were English. The compiler may have been Morden or Berry or possibly Gregory King, who signed it as engraver. King was a young man of varied talents who had training and experience in surveying and map making as well as engraving.³ Whoever was responsible for it, this map must be considered an early instance of the attempts by English

cartographers to free themselves from their dependence on Dutch maps.

The southern section is a reduced and simplified version of Augustine Herrman's *Virginia and Maryland*, engraved in London in 1673. The date of the advertisement is within a few days of the advertisement for another map, which has hitherto been considered the first published map to use Herrman as a model, and these are therefore the first two in a long line of such maps, continuing well into the eighteenth century. The other map is "Virginia and Maryland" in the 1676 edition of John Speed's *Theatre of the Empire of Great-Britain*, published by Thomas Basset and Richard Chiswell, and advertised on 10 February 1676.⁴

The depiction of New Jersey is based upon the current Dutch maps of the Jansson-Visscher series, an example of which may be seen in Map 9. An English map of New Jersey was available—the earlier state of John Seller's *Mapp of New Jarsey*, first published probably in 1674 (see page 90)—but for some reason the compiler did not make use of it. Neither did he show any of the half-dozen English towns that had been settled in eastern New Jersey during the decade (1665–75) after the grant to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. There are two place names, however, that relate to English activity in the area, both of them misplaced far inland. "The Governors Plantation" apparently refers to land acquired by Governor Philip Carteret in 1665. A part of the Elizabethtown grant, it should have been located between the Raritan and Passaic rivers not far from the shoreline.⁵ The other name, "New Barbados," refers to the grant of 1668 to William Sandford, formerly of Surinam, and Nathaniel Kingsland, of Barbados.⁶ This was actually much nearer the coast, between the Passaic and Hackensack rivers. The two place names were, perhaps, inserted from verbal information that could not readily be correlated with the rendering of northern New Jersey taken from a Dutch map.

The New York–New England area follows an unknown model, English at least in its place names and unlike the usual Dutch maps in most of its outlines. The section bears a strong, though far from complete, resemblance to *A Mapp of New*

4. *Term Catalogues*, 1: 229–30. Some of the Herrman derivatives were discussed in Edward B. Mathews, *The Maps and Mapmakers of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1898), pp. 384–85.

5. John E. Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey 1609–1702* (Princeton, 1962), pp. 36–39.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 54. See also William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society, 1 (Trenton, 1846), pp. 48, 187–88.

7. Philip's name was mentioned by John Josselyn in *An Account of Two Voyages to New-England* (London, 1674), p. 146 (Wing J-1091). The relationship of Josselyn's geographical section to a map has never been thoroughly studied, although it has been recognized that the four-page description later published with Seller's map was a condensed version of pages 151-78 of the book.

8. An example is in CSP/AWI, 6 July 1675, no. 614. No date of receipt is given. Douglas E. Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War* (New York, 1958), is the only comprehensive modern account of the events of the war and contains a bibliography of earlier publications.

9. John Carter Brown Library, *Report* (1953), pp. 17-20.

10. Wing S-120A; Sabin 65324. This is the earliest of the "King Philip's War Narratives." Its author is not known, although it has sometimes been attributed to Nathaniel Saltonstall.

11. *Term Catalogues*, 1:226.

12. Two other squaw sachems—Quiapen, the "old queen" of the Narragansetts, and Awashonks, of the Sogkonate (Sakonnet) tribe—have sometimes been confused with Weetamoe, but their connection with the war came later and was quite different.

England by John Seller, which was advertised for sale in the *London Gazette* for 10-13 April 1676, two months after Map 11 was advertised. Both maps carry names connected with King Philip's War. "Mounthope," "King Philip's Country," and "Spaw [Squaw] Sachem" were names that had no special significance before June 1675, when hostilities began with the destruction of the village of Swansea by the Wampanoags and their allies under Philip.⁷

The occurrence of these names on an engraved map advertised for sale in February 1676 indicates that the compiler made use of some very recent source of information. Exactly when the news of the first Indian attacks arrived in London has not been determined, but letters received in the usual course of trade during the fall of the year must have contained some mention of the events of the early weeks or months of raids and fighting.⁸ A manuscript newsletter, dated 21 December 1675 and compiled in London, contained a brief statement about the successes of the Indians and the economic effects of the war.⁹ The earliest account to be given general circulation in printed form, however, was *The Present State of New-England with Respect to the Indian War*, published by Dorman Newman with the date 1675, which in Old Style could have been used as late as 24 March 1676.¹⁰ A letter from a merchant at Boston, dated 10 November 1675 and covering events up to that date, constituted the text of this pamphlet. A license to publish, printed on the verso of the title page, is dated 13 December 1675. If this date is not a typographical error for 31 December, the passage of the ship conveying the letter across the Atlantic must have been unusually swift. The tract was not advertised for sale in the booksellers' quarterly term catalogues until 10 February 1676, in the same week as the advertisement for the map in the *London Gazette*.¹¹ This timing makes it unlikely, although not completely impossible, that the names on the map could have been derived from a copy of the printed pamphlet, and it suggests that Morden and Berry may have had access to a manuscript copy of the text before its publication.

Evidence for a probable connection between the text of this pamphlet and Map 11, as well as Seller's map, is dependent chiefly on names associated with King Philip's War.

Although the names of King Philip and of Mount Hope, his home territory, might conceivably have come from some other unidentified source, knowledge concerning the squaw sachem Weetamoe (King Philip's sister-in-law) could hardly have come from anywhere else at this early date.¹² She is mentioned prominently several times in the first few pages of *The Present State* as an ally of Philip and as a link with the Narragansett Indians, who were later to become involved in the hostilities. Other accounts and histories of the war give her only slight attention.

There is nothing in the printed pamphlet, *The Present State*, to indicate that the letter was originally accompanied by a map, although certainly one would have been appropriate and helpful as an illustration of the narrative and of the author's story of the causes of the war. The occurrence of the names from this pamphlet on a map published almost simultaneously, as well as on the John Seller *Mapp of New England*, which appeared soon thereafter, gives rise to a suspicion—it can be called no more than that in the present state of our knowledge—that a manuscript map may have existed that had a close connection with *The Present State*. The suspicion is somewhat strengthened by the existence of a surviving manuscript map of New England, preserved in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Massachusetts. Drawn and signed by William Hack, it is undated but must have been made in 1694 or later.¹³ It resembles very closely the Seller *Mapp of New England* and contains the same place names from the early months of King Philip's War, with no additional information. Variations in many details make it highly unlikely that it could have been copied directly from an example of the printed map. Because of the late date of copying, this map is not in itself connected with Map 11. Its very existence, however, and the fact that it shows only information available in December 1675 points to the possibility that a manuscript map of that date may have been available in London and that it may have been connected with the letter from the Boston merchant that was printed as *The Present State of New England with Respect to the Indian War*.

13. This map has never been accurately reproduced. It is signed "Gulielmus Hack Delineavit" and bears a dedication "To the Honourable Sr. Walter Younge Barronet & one of the Commissioners for His Maiesties Customs &c This Description of New England in America is most humbly dedicated. . . ." Sir Walter Young, M.P. for Honiton, Devon, was one of the commissioners of the customs from 1694 to 1701, and the date of copying of this manuscript must be during that period (see Narcissus Luttrell, *A Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, 6 vols. [Oxford, 1857], 3:300, 352; 5:109). William Hack was one of the map copyists of the Thames school (see Introduction), apprenticed to Andrew Welch in 1670 and active until at least 1698. This manuscript is mentioned in Stokes, *Iconography*, 1:209, but on the basis of incorrect information. There is no date on the map, and the 1665 date that has been claimed for it is manifestly impossible. Stokes also connects it with a person named William Hack who resided in Taunton from 1660 to 1664, but there is no basis for such a connection. That William Hack could not possibly have been the London map copyist.

Map 12

I. Jacobsen, *Blathwayt*,
p. 407.

A Map of New England New Yorke New Iersey Mary-Land & Virginia Sould by Robert Morden at ye Atlas in Corn-hill neer ye Royal Exchange and by William Berry at ye Globe between York House & ye New Exchange in ye Strande London Gr. King sculpsit [1676]

Engraved, on paper, 44.7 x 52.6 cm

Additions in ink and colors

A discussion of the date and sources of Map 12 is to be found in the commentary on Map 11. The only differences in the two maps are that Map 12 is on paper rather than vellum and that it has additions and corrections made in the Plantations Office. The corrections in ink are probably in Blathwayt's hand. The names of the New England colonies and provinces in the color key in the right margin are in the hand of his clerk, John Povey, who was also responsible for the manuscript table of contents of the atlas.

The engraved names of Connecticut and Massachusetts extend well to the north of where they should have been, and New Hampshire is not named at all. The inked corrections represent an attempt to clear up these misconceptions. The boundaries added in color show, very roughly, seven New England colonies and provinces, including the Narragansett country, which had been designated the "King's Province" in 1665. The only New England intercolonial boundary originally engraved on the map is a broken line separating Plymouth from Massachusetts, apparently intended to represent the line surveyed by Woodward and Saffery in 1642.

The coloring and key could not have been added to the map before 1680, when John Povey was first employed as clerk in the Plantations Office.¹ Although the exact purpose of the additions is unknown, they were probably not intended for use in connection with any specific boundary dispute because all the lines are drawn very casually and some of

them—the northern boundary of Massachusetts, for instance—incorrectly. The colored boundaries may, however, have been intended to give a general idea of the areas to be included in the Dominion of New England and of their relationship to other English colonies to the west and southwest. The dominion was not organized until 1686, but it was the fulfillment of a project that had been under discussion for several years. As early as 1681 the Lords of Trade reported to the Privy Council that “in their opinion New England cannot be brought to a perfect settlement unless a general governor be sent over and maintained there at the King’s charge.”² A map like this could, therefore, have been used appropriately on a good many occasions from 1681 onward. If a better map of New England showing its relationship to surrounding areas had been available at the time, Blathwayt would doubtless have been glad to have it.

2. CSP/AWI, 16 April 1681, no. 82. See also Viola Barnes, *The Dominion of New England* (New Haven, 1923).

Map 13

Parts of this commentary are based on a four-page note by Thomas R. Adams, librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, that was printed to accompany a separate facsimile of Map 13 published by the library in 1958, with color reproduced by a hand-stencil process.

1. Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, *The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New-Jersey* (Philadelphia [1758]), p. 47.

A Mapp of New Jersey, in America, By John Seller, and William Fisher. [London, 1677]

Engraved, colored, 42.5 x 92.2 cm, in 3 sections. Printed text, with colophon dated 1677, pasted below in 4 columns, 14 x 92.2 cm. The three sections of the map, plus the text in two sections, are pasted on a backing sheet made up of two pieces of paper of similar weight and texture. It is, therefore, difficult to distinguish the watermarks and to determine whether they are on the map itself or the backing sheet. A bunch of grapes, with undecipherable lettering in the countermark, similar to several in Heawood, pls. 301–8, is on the side panels. A fleur-de-lis, also with lettering in the countermark, is apparently on the main map. A third mark, only partially visible and not identifiable, is in the text portion.

The history of the publication of Map 13 and its accompanying text is almost as complicated as the early history of New Jersey itself, and there are connections between the map and several phases of the development of the colony in the first years of its existence.

The English decided to drive the Dutch from New York, their only foothold in North America, and in 1664 dispatched an invading force commanded by Colonel Richard Nicolls. Charles II was so confident of its success that even before the expedition left England he granted to his brother James, the duke of York, the land between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers. James, in turn, anticipated the actual capture of New Amsterdam by two months when on 24 June he presented the area between the Hudson and Delaware rivers to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, “which said Tract of Land is hereafter to be called by the Name or Names of New-Caeserea or New-Jersey.”¹ The name was chosen because of Carteret’s loyalty to the crown as the lieutenant governor of the Isle of Jersey during the

Civil War. The two proprietors held the new colony in joint ownership from 1664 to 1674. These ten years were notable for a lack of success in attracting new colonists and in imposing the authority of the proprietors over the Dutch and Swedes long settled in the territory.

The failure of the joint proprietary arrangement was emphasized by the recapture of New Amsterdam by the Dutch in August 1673. However, the treaty of peace between England and the Netherlands in February 1674 reaffirmed the English conquest, and a month later Berkeley conveyed his undivided share of New Jersey to two Quakers, John Fenwick and Edward Byllynge. From 1674 to 1676 the colony went through a period of confusion arising from faulty land titles, personal disputes, and an imperfect understanding of what rights Berkeley had conveyed. Finally, the Society of Friends, which disapproved of lawsuits, designated four trustees to oversee the Fenwick-Byllynge interests. Led by William Penn, these men signed, on 1 July 1676, the "Quintipartite Deed," by which the territory was divided, as shown on Map 13, into East Jersey under the original grantee, Sir George Carteret, and West Jersey under the Quaker interest. Thus after twelve years the colony was able to begin its real development.

Under Penn's vigorous leadership the trustees immediately embarked on a plan to build a Quaker colony.² Map 13 was a device intended by him to attract potential settlers and investors to the West Jersey colony, and it is therefore part of the large and significant body of promotion literature dealing with both East and West Jersey published between 1676 and 1685. Penn's experiences in this connection were to be valuable to him later in the founding of Pennsylvania.³

2. A summary of the complicated background and beginnings of the colony is in John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702* (Princeton, 1956), chaps. 1-7.

3. Map 15, with its attached text, was a publication of the same type issued in 1681 for Penn's own colony.

4. *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 6 vols. (New York, 1915-1928), 1:213-16, and pl. 11.

States of the Map

Map 13 and its relationship to some of its earlier forms were briefly studied as early as 1915, when I. N. Phelps Stokes included a note on them in his *Iconography* because they include the area that is now New York City.⁴ A further analysis of

5. *New Light on the Jansson-Visscher Maps of New England*, Map Collectors' Circle, no. 24 (1965), pls. 20-23.

the states of the map known to him was made more recently by Tony Campbell and printed as part of his study of the Jansson-Visscher maps and some of their derivatives.⁵ In 1969, however, a previously unknown and unsuspected state was found by Coolie Verner in a volume of maps in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. Discovery of this state, which precedes Map 13 and is the only other state to which a printed text belongs, has made necessary a reorganization of the information concerning the history of the plate and of the text appended to it.

1. Ca. 1674. The first appearance of the plate was an undated publication by John Seller on a single sheet with the title *A Mapp of New Jarsey*, issued about 1674 and signed by the engraver "Ja: Clerk sculp:." The date of 1664 was assigned to it by Stokes simply for the reason that it could not have preceded the naming of New Jersey in the royal grant to Berkeley and Carteret in that year. That date, however, is too early by as much as ten years. One of the sources used in compiling the map was the Augustine Herrman map, *Virginia and Maryland*, engraved in 1673 and advertised for sale by Seller in the *London Gazette* for 30 March-2 April 1674, after he had apparently taken over the plates from Herrman's London agents. The southern section of Seller's New Jersey map, including Delaware Bay and part of Delaware River, is closely based on the printed Herrman map and could not have preceded it. The other map from which many of the geographical and decorative features were derived was an earlier production, published in Amsterdam between 1651 and 1656, *Novi Belgii* by Nicolas Visscher. From this map was copied the Visscher view of New Amsterdam, which appears in the upper right corner of the first state of Seller's map. Included also is a version of New York harbor and the surrounding area from a source that has not been identified.

It is possible that Seller himself compiled this earliest map of New Jersey from maps available to him, and until further evidence appears, he must be considered

responsible for it. There may be, however, another compiler. John Scott, an English-American adventurer and geographer, wrote that he had "formerly drawn a particular Map" of New Jersey "with my own Hand, by the Sea, from Sandy-point, and up the River, to the Isle of Matinicocks." The sentence occurs in an undated letter addressed to "a Merchant in London," and printed in London in 1681 in one of the numerous promotion tracts relating to the New Jersey colony.⁶ Scott's statement may be connected in some way to the Seller map. No other map, printed or manuscript, is known to which he might have referred. Before an attribution can be suggested, however, it will be necessary to have some further knowledge of Scott's map-making activities. They have received only passing attention from his biographers, who have been chiefly concerned with the more dramatic and controversial phases of his career.

This state of the map may be found in some copies of Seller's *Atlas Maritimus* of about 1675. It is reproduced by Stokes (vol. 1, pl. 11) and by Campbell (pl. 20).

2. Ca. 1674-75. A major revision of the plate occurred probably within a year of its first appearance. Added to it were a small version of the arms of James, duke of York, and a large and conspicuous cartouche with a dedication by Seller to Sir George Carteret, surmounted by his arms. Geographically, the map was changed to include an entirely new version of New York harbor and the area around it, including Staten Island, Manhattan, and part of Long Island. The source of this second version, like the first, is not known.

Stokes, following a suggestion of Henry Stevens, assigned a date of about 1665 to this state, but that is manifestly incorrect, because one of the new names on Staten Island is "Lovelace his pla[ntation]." Francis Lovelace, governor of New York for the duke, did not arrive until 1668, and neither his plantation nor that of his brother Thomas could have appeared on a map until after that time. Stokes suggested that the second

6. *An Abstract, or Abbreviation of some Few of the Many (Later and Former) Testimonys from the Inhabitants of New-Jersey, and other Eminent Persons* (Wing A-147). Lilian T. Mowrer, *The Indomitable John Scott* (New York, 1960), pp. 248-59, places Scott briefly in England in 1673 and 1674.

7. Stokes, *Iconography*, vol. 1, pl. 16 A. Blathwayt Map 9 is an example of the first Allard state.

state of the map was brought out in connection with the original grant of New Jersey to Berkeley and Carteret. It is more likely, however, that it was published following the renewal of Carteret's grant by the duke in July 1674, a renewal made necessary because of the Dutch reconquest and occupation of New York in 1673-74.

This state, like the first, occurs in some copies of Seller's *Atlas Maritimus*, of about 1675. It is reproduced in Campbell's study (pl. 21) from the copy in the British Museum.

3. 1677. In the newly discovered third state the map has been revised almost beyond recognition. The title and dedication cartouches have been removed, and the engraver's name no longer appears in the lower right. The map has been enlarged to a width of 80 centimeters through the addition of a panel on the right, measuring 42.5 by 22.3 centimeters, and below is a printed text in four columns (version 2, below). There are many significant changes in the delineation.

In the main map the Visscher view of New York in the upper right has been deleted and replaced by an extension of the Delaware River. The title cartouche and scale at the lower left have been replaced by an adaptation of the so-called Restitutio view of New York, which first appeared engraved on the second Allard state of the Visscher map.⁷ The view represents the city under the brief Dutch reoccupation, 1673-74. A scale of English leagues has been placed just below the top border, over the royal arms. The line of division between East and West Jersey, according to the Quintipartite Deed of July 1676, is indicated but not labeled. The names "West New Jarsey" and "East New Jarsey" are placed above and below the line, while the earlier "New Jarsey" has been removed. The entire area around New York has been revised, once again from an unidentified source, with new configurations, some different and some additional place names, and indications of shoals in the harbor, but no soundings. In the course of these changes the engraver's

name was removed from the lower right corner.

In the right panel a tributary of the Delaware River has been added considerably north of the original one (which still flows through the "Lacus"), connecting with it as well as with a northward extension of the Hudson River. The partition line is extended to the northern tributary and "Part of New York" in large lettering has been inserted, beginning on the main map. Among the decorative features are two bears in the upper right, closely resembling those which appear on the Allard plate, as well as on some others in the Visscher series.

The map in this state presents a distinctly unfinished appearance. There is a blank space in the top center, over the royal arms, where it would be logical to put a new title cartouche to replace the one removed from the lower left. The view lacks hatchings in the water and sky as well as on the buildings, and a three-masted ship that appears in the foreground of the Dutch original has not yet been engraved. The combination of the map in this form with the printed text in version 2 was apparently intentional. This state can be dated after 25 March 1677, and it may not have antedated state 4 by any great length of time. The third state may, however, have been a trial production that was never distributed. There may have been one or more other more finished forms of the map, designed also to match this version of the text. Until, or unless, additional examples come to light, it is not possible to be more definite.⁸

8. Description from a photograph loaned to the John Carter Brown Library by Dr. Verner.

4. 1677 (Map 13). In state 4 another engraved panel, 12.2 centimeters wide, has been added at the left side of the map, making the width 92.2 centimeters. The additional coastline, with one place name, "Whoore or Swandale," and some shoals and soundings, is copied directly from the printed Herrman map.

In the main map, a new title cartouche with the wording "A Mapp of New Jersey in America, by John Seller, and William Fisher" has been inserted in the top

9. William Fisher was in the business of publishing and selling books on navigation and related subjects as early as 1656. In 1676 or 1677 he was one of the members of a group formed for the purpose of continuing John Seller's ventures in publishing atlases and maps (see commentary on Map 4). Fisher's association with the 1677 revisions of Seller's map may be related to the activities of this combine.

10. Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland* (Baltimore, 1949), no. 88. A third copy was credited by her to the British Museum, but there is no copy of the complete map in that collection.

center above the royal arms and below the scale.⁹ The name "West Jersey" in very large letters extends across the main map and into the right-hand panel west of the line of demarcation, which is labeled "Partition Line Between East and West Iersey," this legend also extending into the right-hand panel. "West New Jarsey" has been deleted. "East New Jersey" shows no change except for the substitution of an *e* for the *a* in "Jarsey."

The right-hand panel is also in a revised state, with numerous additions, chiefly decorative, of hills, animals, birds, and Indians, most of which can be traced to the Visscher-Allard map. The two bears of state 3, however, have been removed and replaced by indications of hills.

The printed text below the map is a revision of the text used with state 3, entirely reset in larger type so that the resulting four columns fit the new dimension of the widened map. The wording and arrangement of the heading and colophon, however, are exactly the same.

State 4 was known to Stokes, who described Map 13, and a greatly reduced reproduction is plate 23 in Campbell's study. Only one other copy of the complete map with text has been located, in the John W. Garrett Collection, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.¹⁰

Separate copies of the main map in state 4, without the side panels and text, exist in the British Museum and the New York Public Library. This form was listed as state 3 by Stokes and by Campbell, and it was apparently issued in this way by Seller and Fisher. It is evident from the preceding analysis, however, that these copies must have been issued after state 4 was put together. It seems more proper to consider them as incomplete copies of state 4 rather than as an additional state of the map. The possibility of this explanation was foreseen by Stokes, who noted that several of the larger legends, as noted above, are incomplete and meaningless without their continuation in the right-hand panel.

Versions of the Text

1. The description of the Province of West-Jersey in America: as also, Proposals to such who desire to have any Propriety therein. [London, 1676.]

Broadside, folio, 50 x 37 cm

On the only located copy (in the Friends' Library, London) is written the date, "5th Mo: 1676."¹¹

The text begins: "Whereas an undivided Moyety, or one half of the Province of New-Jersey, or New-Cesaria in America, about two Years, last past, was purchased of John Lord Berkley, Baron of Stratton, &c. in the Name of John Fenwick, in trust. Nevertheless, to and for the use of Edward Billinge, and his Assignes. And whereas the said Province is since that time (with much labour, and industry) divided into two equal Moyeties, or half Parts; and the West Moyety, or half Part thereof, is (with Consent and Agreement of all Persons therein concern'd) by Legal Conveyances, firmly vested and settled in William Penn, Gawen Lawry, and Nicholas Lucas. And the Fee, or Inheritance of the said whole Moyety (excepting one tenth Part conveyed to John Ethridg, & Edmund Warner) now is in the said Will. Penn, Gawen Lawry, & Nich. Lucas, and their Assignes: and, for the future, to be held distinct and apart from the other Moyety, or half Part, in the Possession of George Cartwright Baronet, and his Assignes."

This version was printed as a "paper" for separate distribution, not in conjunction with a map. It does, however, contain a reference to a map in connection with the partition line of July 1676, in a sentence ending, "as is more aptly described by the Mapp thereof, and Deed of Partition." This apparently refers to the map mentioned in the Quintipartite Deed of 1 July 1676, as "a Map of the said Tract of Land," which located Little Egg Harbor, the fixed point utilized as the southern terminus of the partition line.¹²

The relationship of this map to the Seller map cannot be exactly determined, but it must be assumed to be close.

11. Sabin 59692; Wing P-1276. The text is printed in Fulmer Mood, "English Publicity Broad-sides for West New Jersey, 1675-6," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* 54, no. 1 (January 1936): 8-11.

12. Leaming and Spicer, *Grants, Concessions*, p. 67.

13. *A Brief Description of New-York . . . With the Places thereunto Adjoyning* (London, 1670), p. 19. The passage from Denton is quoted on p. 182 of John Ogilby, *America* (London, 1671), and the phrase could have been taken from either source. For Penn's criticisms of the original wording, which he says was "set forth by the creditors," meaning Nicholas Lucas and Gawen Lawrie, see Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New Jersey* (Burlington, 1765), p. 90. The implication is that the revisions were made by him.

2. The Description of the Province of West-Jersey In America. As also, Proposals to such as desire to have any Propriety therein. . . . London, Printed for John Seller at the Hermitage-stairs in Wapping, and William Fisher at the Postern-gate on Tower-Hill, 1667.

The only known copy of this text is attached to state 3 of the map, newly discovered in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge. It is set in four columns, separated by rules, and begins: "Whereas an undivided Moyety . . ." The following revisions occur: (a) The words "to be affixed to the Mapp" have been inserted following a statement that the description was to be printed; (b) Changes in wording made necessary by the time factor, that is, in connection with the dates of the sailing of ships, and, in the last paragraph a statement that commissioners have already gone to New Jersey, replacing the statement that it was intended to send them; (c) A change of wording tones down slightly the excessive enthusiasm of the earlier version in regard to the shortness of the winters in New Jersey, and a reference to the area as the "terrestrial Canaan" has been deleted. This phrase had originally come from Daniel Denton's *Brief Description*, published in 1670.¹³ The statement concerning liberty of conscience is shortened and simplified.

The reference to the map, plus the fact that this version of the text is printed in four columns to fit the size of state 3 with its single added panel, indicate that the map and text belong together and were intended to be published in combined form. Unless, or until, a copy of the text is found in conjunction with a more finished state of the map, it remains uncertain that the printed material in this form was ever actually circulated.

3. The Description of the Province of West-Jersey In America. As also, Proposals to such as desire to have any Propriety therein. . . . London, Printed for John

Seller at the Hermitage-stairs in Wapping, and William Fisher at the Postern-gate on Tower-Hill, 1677.

Although the title and colophon are exactly the same in wording and arrangement as in version 2, the entire piece, which is printed in two sections, has been set in larger type so that the four columns, with rules between, fit the map in state 4 with both the side panels added.

The only known copies are attached to Map 13 and to the other example of the map in the Garrett Collection, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

The text has been further revised, referring, instead of merely to the map, to "this Mapp, and Deed of Partition" and stating that "This Description is thought fit to be affixed to the Mapp, for the Satisfaction of all such who now have, or hereafter may have a mind or inclination to transport Themselves" to West Jersey, thus even more firmly establishing the integral connection of the map and the text in their present, presumably final, form.

The entire first paragraph has been changed. It begins, "This Tract of Land, bounded with two Navigable Rivers, viz. On the East-side with Hudson's River, on the West-side with the Bay and River of Delaware; and is bounded on the North from the Head of the said River of Delaware, with a pretty considerable River or Rivolet, quite cross over the Country unto Hudson's River aforesaid; as the best Geographers we can meet with affirm. So that it's very probable the said Country is almost, if not altogether, an entire Island."

Following the geographical description is a revised explanation of the circumstances of the grant of West Jersey, simplified and without the legal verbiage of the earlier introductory paragraph. All mention of John Fenwick is omitted from the text.

There is nothing in the revisions made for version 3 to suggest that it appeared much later than version 2, which was also dated 1677. In this connection it should

be mentioned that from January to October 1677 Fenwick was in prison in New York. The revisions, which included the deletion of his name, may have been made after the news of his arrest was received in London.

Map 14

Long Iland Siruaide By Robartte Ryder. [1679?]

Manuscript, in ink and colors with gold touches,
60.5 x 81 cm, irregular

Map 14 is in the hand of an unidentified Thames school copyist (see Introduction). Neither the characteristics of the lettering nor the use of color is identical with any other manuscript map in the atlas, nor do they match any other Thames school production that has been examined. The facsimile is in black and white, but the colors of the original include several shades of blue, greenish yellows, yellowish greens, and pinkish purples, with touches of gold and white. The Connecticut shoreline is in blues as far west as the Mamaroneck River; yellow is used for Long Island, Manhattan, and the New York mainland, and pink-purple for New Jersey; Staten Island is green.

The accounts of the Lords of Trade show a payment of £4 6s. on 29 September 1679 for five maps, undoubtedly manuscripts, among them one of "Long Island and parts adjacent."¹ It seems probable that the entry refers to Map 14.

Robert Ryder, whose name appears on the map, is recorded as a practicing surveyor in New York for over a decade, beginning in 1670, when he rented a small building that had been occupied earlier by a surveyor for the Dutch.² His first map of Long Island, signed and dated in the same year, is in the collections of the New-York Historical Society.³ Various surveys of land made by him are recorded, the latest being dated 28 December 1680.⁴ On 7 July 1679 he assisted in taking an official observation of the latitude of New York at Fort James on the southern tip of Manhattan Island.⁵ He must have died between December 1680 and 15 June 1681, when letters of administration were granted on his estate by the court at Gravesend, where he apparently made his home rather than in the town of New York or on the tract of land he owned on Staten Island.⁶

A collotype reproduction of Map 14, with color added by a hand-stencil process, was published separately by the John Carter Brown Library in 1950, accompanied by a two-page historical note by the late Lawrence C. Wroth, on which the present commentary is based. Now out of print, the color facsimile is available for reference in most large research libraries.

1. Add. Ms. 9767.

2. I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 6 vols. (New York, 1915-28), 2: 259; and index entries under *Ryder*, 6: 608.

3. The manuscript, measuring 43.8 x 129.5 cm, was reproduced in greatly reduced form in *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York*, 2 vols. (Albany, 1910), 1: 237.

4. *Catalogue of Maps and Surveys, in the Offices of the Secretary of State* (Albany, 1859), pp. 134, 136-37.

5. Charles Wolley, *A two Years Journal in New-York* (London, 1701), pp. 3-4: "The Fort and Garrison of this place lieth in the degree of 40th and 20 minutes of northern Latitude, and was observ'd and taken by Mr. Andrew Norwood, Son of the Famous Mathematician of that name, and by Mr. Philip Wells, and Van Cortland Junior, Robert Rider and Jacobus

Stephens, the seventh of July, 1679, with whom I was well acquainted, and at that time present with them."

6. *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State* (Albany, 1866), pt. 2, pp. 96-97; also p. 43.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 32. No copy of this map survives.

8. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 3 (Albany, 1853), p. 219.

9. Quoted in Benjamin F. Thompson, *History of Long Island*, 3d ed., 3 vols. (Port Washington, 1962), 1: 197n.

10. *Documents of New-York*, vol. 14 (1883), pp. 685, 711; and vol. 3, pp. 230-31, 234, 237.

At some time before 9 December 1674 Ryder had made an official survey of Staten Island, for on that date he petitioned for payment "for his trouble in laying out and making a draft" of it.⁷ This petition was presented to the new governor, Major Edmund Andros. He had arrived in New York only a few weeks earlier to take over from the Dutch after their short-lived return to power in the colony that they had planted earlier in the century and lost to the English in 1664. Ryder was thus early called to the attention of the governor. Andros had a royal appointment, but his instructions were from the proprietor, the duke of York, who required him to send home "by the first opportunity a Map wth ye exact description of ye whole territory undr yor governmt wth ye severall Plantacions upon it, and also ye Fortifications where any be."⁸ There is no record that Andros ever tried to comply with this instruction. Indeed, it would have been impossible for him to provide an "exact description" of the duke's grant, which included not only New York and Long Island but also scattered parts of New England and other territory extending as far south as Maryland. The boundaries between his grant and other colonies were undefined and subject to dispute.

The new governor must have been pleased, however, to find already in existence the map of Long Island made by Ryder in 1670. One of the first acts of his administration was to bring under his jurisdiction the three towns at the eastern end of the island—Southold, Southampton, and East Hampton—which had joined Connecticut rather than submit to the Dutch. A few years earlier the first English governor of New York, Richard Nicolls, had described Long Island as "very poor and inconsiderable."⁹ It was up to Andros to improve the situation of this part of the duke's territory, and he immediately set about planning the development of a cod fishery patterned after the lucrative industry of Newfoundland. He hoped that this would provide a means of livelihood for the settlers and eventually enable the colony to produce revenue.¹⁰ A map of Long Island "and parts adjacent" would have been appropriate as an enclosure with the governor's reports on these matters to the duke in 1675. Only the replies

to his letters for this period of his administration are extant, however, and they do not mention a map. It is more likely that Andros took a map by Ryder with him in 1677 when he made a six months' visit to England, where it was copied and in due course procured for the use of the Plantations Committee.

The New-York Historical Society's manuscript of 1670 and Map 14 of about 1675 each has its distinctive place in the history of American cartography—the 1670 draft as the first extensive survey of an important area and Map 14 as a later, and natural, development of the original survey presented in a form of unusual decorative quality. The earlier draft runs eastward only to the beginning of Peconic Bay, and the manuscript shows signs of having been cut at that point, suggesting it may once have included more of Long Island. Map 14 shows the whole island and an equal length of the opposite Connecticut shore. The number of place names has been somewhat increased, Staten Island has been reoriented, and extensive soundings have been recorded for Lower New York Bay, possibly the result of a marine survey by Ryder himself at the time of his "laying out" of Staten Island in 1674. Numerous dotted lines on Long Island show land boundaries that have not as yet been analyzed by local historians.

Map 15

This commentary is to a large extent the note written by the late Lawrence C. Wroth to accompany a separate facsimile in color of Map 15 published by the John Carter Brown Library in 1943. Some new information has been added and the references have been reworked.

A Map of Some of the South and eastbounds of Pennsylvania in America. being partly Inhabited, Sold by John Thornton at the Signe of England Scotland and Ireland in the Minories, and by John Seller at his Shop in Popeshead Alley in Cornhill. London. [1681]

Engraved, colored, 42.3 x 55 cm. Text, printed in four columns, pasted below, beginning "Reader, The Intention of this Map . . ."

Additions and corrections, in ink: *Cheseapeake Bay* [added to map] *Westward* [changed from *Northward* in text, column 1, line 31] *Woad* [changed from *Wood* in text, column 3, line 23] *off* [deleted from text, column 3, line 36] *prophisees* [changed from *provisoes* in text, column 4, line 37]

For the reason that this first separate map of Pennsylvania was conceived and issued by William Penn for the promotion of interests in his new colony, it seems as reasonable as it is convenient to refer to it as "the William Penn map." Both John Thornton and John Seller were makers of maps as well as publishers. One or the other or both of them may properly be regarded as responsible for its compilation. Its engraver is unknown.

The Map as a Colonization Tract

William Penn began his colonization effort with the publication of *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*, brought out sometime between 5 March and 12 April 1681. The second tract, an abstract of the first, was a broadside entitled *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America*. There was then drawn up, but in all proba-

bility not printed, the instrument entitled "Certain conditions, or concessions, agreed upon by William Penn . . . and those who are the adventurers and purchasers . . . the 11th of July, 1681." The third in the series of printed publications was *A Map of Some of the South and eastbounds of Pennsylvania in America* (Map 15). Pasted to the lower margin of the map in certain copies is a printed "Description" in four columns of the great tract of land recently granted Mr. Penn. The fourth printed publication was a folio of eight pages entitled *A Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania Lately Granted by the King*. To distinguish this piece from Penn's second publication, the broadside *Brief Account* mentioned above, we refer to it as the "folio *Brief Account*." A postscript on its last page advises readers that "There is likewise Printed *A Map of Pennsylvania*, together with a Description at the End of it; and some Proposals." This phrasing suggests that the William Penn map and text, to which the postscript unquestionably refers, was printed either before or simultaneously with the "folio *Brief Account*," certainly not after it. In her "Notes on Early Pennsylvania Promotion Literature," to which we are indebted for the order of the tracts as here set forth, Hope Frances Kane suggests, for reasons given, that both these publications appeared at virtually the same time in the six weeks' period 11 July to 25 August 1681.¹ The two tracts bear great similarity to each other. The "folio *Brief Account*" is an expanded version of the matter contained in the "Description," documented by "An Abstract of the Patent granted by the King" and "The King's Declaration to the Inhabitants and Planters of the Province of Pennsylvania."

At the time Map 15 was constructed there had been made no detailed survey of Penn's grant of 4 March 1681. The proprietary was dependent for his data, therefore, upon existing printed and manuscript maps of the general area involved. A comparison of the configurations and place names of his map with those elements of the Augustine Herrman map, *Virginia and Maryland* (London, 1673), shows that the designer drew upon the Herrman map for his delineation of those sections which included the Susquehanna River, the upper portion of the Chesapeake Bay, and the area lying eastward of that river and bay as far as, and inclusive of, the

1. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, April 1939, pp. 144-68. On 9 November 1681, when Penn was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, a copy of the map was presented in his absence by John Houghton, the Fellow who had proposed his candidacy. For details of the incident, see Raymond P. Stearns, "Colonial Fellows of the Royal Society of London, 1661-1778," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 3 (1946): 223, and Marion Balderston, "The Mystery of William Penn, the Royal Society, and the First Map of Pennsylvania," *Quaker History* 52 (1963): 79-87. The map is not now to be found in the society's library.

2. The original is not extant, but there is a contemporary copy in the Riksarkivet, Stockholm. A reduced engraved version is in Thomas Campanius Holm, *Kort Beskrifning* (Stockholm, 1702).

western shores of Delaware Bay and the Delaware River south of "Christian Creek."

The eastern shore of Delaware Bay and Delaware River as delineated on the Penn map do not derive from the map of Augustine Herrman. In both outline and nomenclature this section closely resembles Map 10, *A Mapp of Virginia, Maryland, New Jarsey, New-York & New England*, published "by John Thornton at the Sundyall in the Minorities and by Robert Greene at ye Rose and Crowne in Budg-rowe." In many of its features this map is a straight derivative from Herrman's *Virginia and Maryland* of 1673. Inasmuch as Map 10 contains, on the east bank of the Delaware in West Jersey, "Bridlington towne," laid out in 1677 and almost at once renamed Burlington, and does not contain the name "Pennsylvania" or any reference to the existence of Penn's grant, it is a fair assumption that it was issued after the establishment of Burlington in 1677 and before the creation of Pennsylvania in 1681. There is another reason for this conclusion: one of its publishers was John Thornton, who was also one of the publishers of the Penn map, and it is unlikely that Thornton would have issued a general map including the area of the Penn grant but not mentioning Pennsylvania at any time *after* he had issued a special map of that colony. It is possible, indeed, that Map 10 was designed as early as 1677 or 1678, but whether or not we may date its publication as early as that, we may feel reasonably sure that it was not brought out after the Penn map was issued in the summer of 1681. If this reasoning is correct, Map 10 could have been the source from which the Penn map derived its outline and place names, including "Bridlington towne," for the east bank of the Delaware River. Or, if this should prove to be an incorrect conclusion, it must be allowed that for the delineation of this area both maps derived their data from a common prototype.

In its configuration and, in part, in its place names, northward from "Christian Creek" (designated "Christina Creek" on the Herrman map and on the Lindeström manuscript map, *Nova Suecia*, of 1654 or 1655²), the west bank of the Delaware River as portrayed upon the William Penn map seems also to owe its origin to Map 10. On the Penn map, however, this bank of the river shows many more place names than the

supposed prototype bears, and adds to them several names of planters already settled under the government of New York on that side of the river, specifically of Robert Wader, Peter Ambos, Peter Coks, Gunner Ambo, Richard Noble, and Peter Aldrix. It becomes clear that Penn had some source for this portion of his map besides Map 10. That source could have been available to him through his association with the colony across the Delaware, the colony of West Jersey. As one of the coproprietors of that colony he would have known of these places and plantations on the west bank of the river and might even have had at hand a survey of the country they occupied, or at least a written report upon their positions. In either case it would have been information newly acquired, for when four years earlier, in 1677, he and his associates in the proprietorship of West Jersey issued, with printed description attached, *A Mapp of New Jersey, in America*, published by John Seller and William Fisher (Map 13) no names of settlers were engraved upon the map on either side of the river.

There were several sources from which the maker of the Penn map might have derived his data for the Delaware River above the so-called Christian Creek. One of the planters shown upon the west bank of the river was Richard Noble, himself a surveyor, who had come to West Jersey with Fenwick in 1675 and who in 1677 had laid out the town of Burlington.³ In 1676 a surveyor named Richard Hancock was resident in West Jersey.⁴ In August 1676 Penn and his associate proprietors of West Jersey instructed their commissioners to bring from Maryland "one Agustín whose as we hear did sound most part of Deliver [Delaware] River & the Creeks He is an able Surveyor. . . ." If Agustín [Herrman?] would not come, they were to send to York River in Virginia for William Elliot, a qualified surveyor.⁵ With surveyors in this number and of this quality locally available, it does not seem that Penn would have experienced great difficulty in procuring the information as to the west bank of the Delaware which went into his map of 1681.⁶

3. Samuel Smith, *The History of the Colony of Nova-Caesaria, or New-Jersey* (Burlington, N.J., 1765), p. 98.

4. Irving S. Kull, ed., *New Jersey: A History*, 4 vols. (New York, 1930), 1:128.

5. W. A. Whitehead, ed., *Archives of the State of New Jersey*, 1st ser., vol. 1 (Newark, 1880), pp. 221, 223.

6. See the commentary on Map 10 for a suggestion concerning a map by James Wasse.

7. Hazel Shields Garrison, "Cartography of Pennsylvania before 1800," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, July 1935, p. 263.

8. See the commentary on Maps 16 and 17 for a suggestion of one possibility.

9. E. B. Mathews, ed., *Report on the Resurvey of the Maryland-Pennsylvania Boundary, Maryland Geological Survey 7* (1908): 234.

The Map as a Historical Document

It has been said that the William Penn map had nothing of geographical interest to add to what had already been recorded in earlier maps.⁷ True enough in the main, that dictum in one particular is distinctly an understatement. Because of its incorrectness in one important feature, the Penn map actually subtracted from contemporary knowledge rather than added to it. If it had been a map of wide distribution, indeed, it might easily have brought confusion into current understanding of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bay areas, and this is true despite Penn's assertion in the second paragraph of the attached text that "the Reasons that first induced to this Draught" were, among others, "to correct the Errors of those Maps that have taken in any part of this Country. . . ."

From the moment his charter was granted Penn began asserting that his southern boundary lay farther within the territory of Maryland than the government of that province was willing to concede. His first definite public assertion of his claim seems to have been through the publication of Map 15 in which the fortieth degree of latitude is shown as running some forty minutes south of its correct position, thus bringing within the Penn grant all of Maryland north of the Gunpowder River on the western shore of the Chesapeake and north of the present village of Still Pond in Kent County on the Eastern Shore. One does not readily find an earlier map from which the Penn misplacement of the fortieth parallel could have been derived.⁸ It was too far north by eight minutes or thereabouts on the Herrman map, *Virginia and Maryland*, the chief prototype of the Penn map, and a few minutes too far south on the Visscher map which Penn chose to rely upon when his claim was brought before the Lords of Trade two or three years later.⁹ In *A Mapp of New Jersey* (Map 13), which Penn and his associate proprietors had issued in 1677, the fortieth parallel ran some seven or eight minutes north of its true position, while in the Thornton and Greene map (Map 10), which we have suggested might have been one of the prototypes of the William Penn map, it lies about fifteen minutes south. Clearly there was no agreement

among the cartographers as to the exact position of the fortieth parallel, but north or south of true position their errors in general were small compared to the forty minutes misplacement on our first Pennsylvania map.

The assertion of proprietorship over northern Maryland made by Penn in this map of the summer of 1681 must be considered in association with his letter of 16 September of that year in which he addressed James Frisby and several other residents of northern Maryland "at their Plantations in Pennsylvania," and advised them to pay no more taxes to Lord Baltimore's government because it was his belief that their estates lay within his own province of Pennsylvania.¹⁰ As a graphic expression of the policy made clear in this letter, the William Penn map of 1681 is of considerable interest in the history of the middle colonies. Because the map has come to the attention of historians in relatively recent years, it has never been cited, as far as we know, in the literature of the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute,¹¹ that most celebrated of all colonial American boundary controversies, concluded only in 1763 when Messrs. Mason and Dixon began running the line which ever since has been much more than a mere dividing line between two commonwealths.

Previous Reproductions of the Map and Recorded Copies

Historians had previously taken no note of the Penn map when Worthington C. Ford described it bibliographically and reprinted the text in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for November 1923, under the title "The First Separate Map of Pennsylvania." In December of the same year the map alone was reproduced in Philadelphia with a short note by Albert Cook Myers, from the copy then owned by Col. Henry D. Paxson and now the Paxson-Stokes-Haverford College copy. A reissue of this reproduction appeared in the *Bulletin of the Friends' Historical Association* (13 [1924]: 22). The map without text was also reproduced, in an edition of ten copies only, in June 1924 as part of a publication (no. 115) in the Americana Series: Photostat

10. W. H. Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 5 (Baltimore, 1887), p. 285.

11. This statement, first written in 1943, is apparently still correct. Later aspects of the controversy, however, have recently been dealt with in detail by Nicholas B. Wainwright in "The Missing Evidence: Penn v. Baltimore," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 80 (1956): 227-35, and "The Tale of a Runaway Cape: The Penn-Baltimore Agreement of 1732," *ibid.* 87 (1963): 251-93.

Reproductions by the Massachusetts Historical Society. In this publication a photostatic print of the map, made from a copy in the Library of Congress, was joined to a photostatic reproduction of the "folio *Brief Account*," made from the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library. This was a nice combination, but there is no reason to believe that copies of the "folio *Brief Account*" were contemporaneously issued with the map. In fact the postscript on page 8 of the book makes it clear that the map with a printed description "at the End of it" was a separate publication.

The copy of the map now at Haverford, two copies in the Library of Congress, and a copy owned by the Rosenbach Company of Philadelphia and New York in 1938 (catalogue, *The Sea*, item no. 580) are without the printed text. The British Museum has two copies, one with and one without the text attached. A copy with text, now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was purchased in 1930 by the Rosenbach Company from the Marquis of Lansdowne, descendant of Sir William Petty, a contemporary of William Penn. A fourth copy with text has recently been discovered to be in the Pepys Collection at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

Maps 16, 17

16.
[Maryland. 1677?]

Manuscript, on vellum, in colors with gold touches,
55.5 x 64.5 cm

17.
[Virginia. 1677?]

Manuscript, on vellum, in colors with gold touches,
65 x 63 cm

1. C.O.700 Maryland no. 1, and M.P.G.375 (Virginia). See Introduction, "The Thames School," note 13.
2. Add. Ms. 9767.

Maps 16 and 17 are discussed together because, although they are not strictly speaking parts of a single map, they are closely related. Both manuscripts are in the style of the Thames school of map copyists in a hand that has not been identified. It is, however, the same as that of Map 20 (Carolina from Cape Henry to Saint Augustine) and of several maps in the British Museum and the Public Record Office,¹ none of which is signed or dated. The two maps were probably among those referred to in a record of payment by the Plantations Office on 20 November 1677 for "a large Map of the Streights, Maps of Barbados, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina drawn with ye hand."² The existence of this record, together with the presence in the atlas of three maps of these areas in identical hands (Maps 16, 17, and 20), suggests that they were made at that time.

Versions of Herrman's Map

Taken together the two manuscripts constitute a version of the map of Augustine Herrman, famous in its printed form with the title *Virginia and Maryland as it is Planted and In-*

3. Ibid. This is conjecture because no record of the selling price of the map has been found, but a later letter of Lord Baltimore to the Lords of Trade (CSP/AWI, 26 March 1678, no. 633) indicates he knew the map was familiar to them. In September 1686 a copy of "Hermans Virginia," possibly a second copy, was pasted on cloth and colored for the Plantations Office by William Berry (Blathwayt Mss., Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., vol. 20).

4. Most discussions of Herrman's map have been based chiefly on P. Lee Phillips, *The Rare Map of Virginia and Maryland by Augustine Herrman . . . A Bibliographical Account* (Washington, D.C., 1911), and on the geographical analysis in E. B. Mathews, *Maps and Map-makers of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1898), pp. 368-86. More recent discussions are by Lawrence C. Wroth in John Carter Brown Library, *Report* (1930), pp. 10-15, and Walter W. Ristow, "Augustine Herrman's Map of Virginia and Maryland," *Library of Congress Quarterly Journal of Acquisitions* 17 (1960): 221-26. Further references are listed under no. 72 in Cumming, *Southeast*, and in Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland* (Baltimore, 1949), no. 74. A biography, *Augustine Herrman*, by Earl L. W. Heck (Englewood, Ohio, 1941), makes no additional contribution to the study

habited this present Year 1670 Surveyed and Exactly Drawne by the Only Labour & Endeavour of Augustin Herrman Bohemiensis, engraved by William Faithorne and "Published by the Authority of his Maties. Royall Licence and particular Privilege to Aug. Herman and Thomas Within-brook his Assignee for fourteen yeares from the year of our lord 1673." A copy of the printed map was also available to the Lords of Trade. An entry of the payment of eight shillings to John Seller, a frequent supplier of maps to the Plantations Office, made between December 1674 and 24 June 1676 for a "Map of Virginia &c" probably refers to the printed map. This would have been an appropriate price for a four-sheet map with color added.³

The printed map has received considerable attention since 1873, when the British Museum copy was first noticed, attention well deserved, for the map was certainly the best and most detailed cartographical representation of any of the British mainland colonies published up to that time.⁴ It has been well known to historians of the Middle Colonies because of its connection with the involved and bitter disputes over the boundaries between Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, which led eventually to the running of the Mason-Dixon Line in 1767. The map provided the geographical basis for maps of the area for nearly a century after its publication, and the names it gives to plantations as well as to natural features are a valuable source that has been frequently used.

The author of the map was a Bohemian born in Prague, a man of unusual ability, versatile and well educated. He became prominent in the affairs and commerce of the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam before he settled in Maryland to pursue and achieve his ambition of acquiring a landed estate and establishing an inheritance for his children. As far as the records show, he made no other maps, and there is no clear documentary evidence that he ever acted as a professional surveyor.⁵ He is known to have drawn a "small sketch" in perspective of the city of New Amsterdam, which was sent to Holland at some time in the 1650s, but no extant picture,

drawn or printed, can be attributed to him with complete confidence.⁶

Discussions of Herrman's map have been directed to the printed version, most writers having been unaware of the existence of any manuscripts.⁷ It is important, therefore, to investigate their origin as far as possible and try to establish their relationship to the printed map.

The differences between this manuscript version and the printed form of the map are numerous and striking, many of them consisting of additional features on the printed map that are not present on the manuscript. The printed map has the title and the statement of authorship in an elaborate cartouche, as well as coats of arms, a note concerning the royal privilege, Herrman's portrait, and various lesser decorative features such as drawings of ships and an Indian canoe. The printed map is a unit, while the manuscripts are two separate maps with considerable overlapping made necessary by the irregular shape of the two colonies. The orientation of the printed map is with north to the right, while the manuscripts have north to the top. The manuscripts are marginally graduated for both latitude and longitude, while the printed map has indications of latitude only. The printed map also extends farther east into New Jersey. The interior areas are for the most part blank on the manuscripts, except for creeks and rivers, while the printed map carries numerous notes concerning reports of the country, some correct, others fanciful.

The numerous and various differences and additions on the printed map indicate that it was not copied from these manuscripts. The corollary question as to whether the manuscripts were copied from the printed map can also be answered in the negative. While any of the additional features noted might conceivably have been omitted by a copyist working from the printed version, it is extremely unlikely that he would have omitted all of them. More convincing, however, are some differences in place names where the more nearly correct versions in the manuscripts could not have resulted from accidents of copying from the printed map; instances

of the map. Copies are recorded in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (2 copies), the Library of Congress, and the John Carter Brown Library. A sixth copy has been reported by Professor Coolie Verner in the Pepys Collection, Magdalene College, Cambridge. Reproductions in full size of the British Museum copy were published by B. F. Stevens in 1896 and by Phillips in 1911 (in *The Rare Map*). A four-sheet collotype facsimile of the John Carter Brown copy has been kept continuously in print since 1941.

5. Herrman sent to Lord Baltimore in 1681 "Plotts in porches [perches]" of Bohemia Manor, but they do not seem to be extant, and there is nothing to show they were made by Herrman himself rather than by the official surveyor. See "Memorandum or Journall of the first foundation and seating of Bohemia Manor" by Herrman, 13 June 1681, the text printed in an appendix to James Grant Wilson, *A Maryland Manor*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication no. 30 (Baltimore, 1890), p. 33.

6. I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 6 vols. (New York, 1915-1928), 2: 142, 121. A satisfactory biography of Herrman has not yet been written. "Since April 1878, when the first comprehensive

article on Herrman, the work of Edwin R. Purple, appeared . . . the bibliography and lists of quoted authorities have grown steadily with small compensating increase in facts uncovered and considerable compounding of error" (unsigned review of *Augustine Herrman* by E. L. W. Heck, *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 73 [1942]: 149). One important addition of fact, however, has been made in establishing the approximate date of his birth, which was formerly thought to have been either 1605 or 1621. A deposition signed by Herrman on 27 May 1667 has been discovered in the records of Accomac County, Virginia, in which he gives his age as "about 44 years" (Paul G. Burton, "The Age of Augustine Herrman," *ibid.* 78 [1947]: 130-31). This would mean that he was born about 1623 and confirms the notation on his will, "Aet. 63," which refers to his age at death in 1686 rather than when the will was drawn up in 1684.

7. Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 72, mentioned the Blathwayt manuscripts, giving it as his impression that they were earlier than the printed map.

8. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, vol. 2 (Albany, 1858), p. 93. Philip Calvert was a brother of Cecil, second Lord Baltimore, whose son Charles was governor of Maryland from 1661 until he succeeded his

are "Cape Hinlope" on the printed map and "Cape Hinlopen" on Map 16, and "Sipsis Pt" at the mouth of the James River on the printed map compared with "Ships Pt" on Map 17.

If these manuscripts were not copied from the printed map, even though they were made after its publication, what was their origin? An answer to this question is suggested by references in several well-known documents to the existence of earlier versions of the map.

The first record of Herrman's interest in maps is in his own report of a diplomatic mission he undertook in the fall of 1659, traveling across country from the settlement on the Delaware now called Newcastle to Saint Mary's in Maryland for the purpose of protesting on behalf of Governor Peter Stuyvesant of New Netherland the activities of Marylanders on Delaware Bay in territory claimed by the Dutch. One evening after dinner Philip Calvert, then secretary of the Maryland colony, "talked about his charts or maps of the country, of which he laid on the table two that were engraved and one in manuscript. One was printed at Amsterdam, by direction of Captain Smith, the first discoverer of the Great bay of Chesapeake, or Virginia; the second appeared also to be printed at Amsterdam, at the time of Lord Balthamoor's patent; we knew not by whom or where the manuscript one was drawn. All differed, one from the other."⁸ A few days after this conversation Herrman wrote to Governor Stuyvesant that "first of all, the South river [the Delaware] and the Virginias, with the lands and kills between both, ought to be laid down on an exact scale as to longitude and latitude, in a perfect map, that the extent of the country on both sides may be correctly seen . . . for some maps which the English have here are utterly imperfect and prejudicial to us."⁹

It seems from these words that the form and content of a map were already taking shape in his mind. From Saint Mary's he went to Virginia to sound out the governor as to his attitude on the New Netherland-Maryland dispute, but no report of this mission has survived, and it is not known whether he discussed maps with Governor Samuel Mathews.

Fifteen months later, on 14 January 1661, Herrman had

already completed some sort of map, probably of Maryland only, if we can depend on the description in a document of that date that allowed him to become a resident, or denizen, and landholder in the colony. The proprietor of Maryland stated that "for our satisfaction and benefit of trade" Herrman had "drawne a Mapp of all the Rivers creeks and Harbours thereunto belonging."¹⁰ In a statement drawn up twenty years later Herrman said that he had offered to "make an Exact mapp of the Country" and that his offer had been accepted on 18 September 1660.¹¹

The next pertinent reference occurs in the instructions of 17 February 1666 from Lord Baltimore to his son Charles as governor of Maryland:

Whereas Mr Augustine Herman now Resident in our said Province hath (as wee are well informed and satisfied) taken great paines and Care in order to the Draweing and Composeing of a certeine Mapp or Card of our said Province & of the Limits and boundaryes of the same, And is shortly intended to print and publish the same, wee Doe will and Require you that after the said Map or Card shalbe printed and published, and in case upon the strict perusall and Examination of the same you shall finde that the said Herman hath done us Right in stateing the said Limits and boundaryes of our said Province Justly and truly and particulerly in the True stateing of the said boundaryes and Limits in relation to Watkins Pointe and Delaware Bay that in such Case you recommend the said Herman heartily and Effectually in our name to the Generall Assembly of our said Province then next after to be called or summoned in order to the Receiving some Reward from them for his said Paynes and Care, and that in the meane time you assure the said Herman in our name that in case he doe us Right as aforesayd upon the first notice to us Given from you . . . wee will give Directions and orders for his imediate naturalization as he hath desired of us.¹²

From this statement we know that Herrman's map existed in a finished version early in 1666, although Lord Baltimore had not seen it. His anxiety concerning the boundaries of his

father at the latter's death in 1675. It is interesting to note from the passage quoted that anonymous, undated manuscript maps in the seventeenth century were as puzzling to contemporaries as they are to us.

9. Ibid., p. 99.

10. W. H. Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 3 (Baltimore, 1885), p. 398.

11. Herrman, "Memorandum of Bohemia Manor," p. 29.

12. Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 15 (Baltimore, 1896), p. 18.

13. Virginia's claims were stated in legal form in September 1663. See W. W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, vol. 2, 2d ed. (New York, 1823), pp. 183-84. The Wicomico is "Wigacomoco Creeke" on the manuscript. Confusingly, there is a similar name on the Virginia shore.

14. The text of the agreement is in Browne, *Archives of Maryland*, vol. 5 (Baltimore, 1887), pp. 44-45. See also Louis N. Whealton, *The Maryland and Virginia Boundary Controversy (1668-1894)*, [New York, 1904], pp. 12-19.

province at that particular time were centered on the dispute between Maryland and Virginia as to the line dividing the Delmarva Peninsula east of Chesapeake Bay. Virginia was claiming that Watkins Point, the charter boundary on the Eastern Shore, was located at the mouth of the Wicomico River instead of at the opening of Pokomoke Sound, and a good-sized strip of territory just then in process of being settled was at stake in the controversy.¹³ Since Herrman's naturalization proceeded smoothly, it can be assumed that the boundary line in question was included in his map as required by the proprietor. Indeed, from the time of his settlement in Maryland Herrman's interests ran parallel to those of Lord Baltimore.

The boundary dispute was negotiated in 1668, and an agreement was signed on 25 June establishing the line at Watkins Point in accordance with Maryland's claim, the line being marked by trees.¹⁴ This line, with the trees, is indicated rather conspicuously on Map 16 and also on Map 17. If Herrman's map was connected in Lord Baltimore's mind with this boundary dispute, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was used by Philip Calvert, who represented Maryland in the negotiations. Hardly any documents concerning the discussions exist, but if a version of Herrman's map was used in connection with them, there would have been no need for it to emphasize Herrman's authorship or provide information concerning the interior areas, nor would it have required any nonfunctional decoration. It is also reasonable to suspect that when Governor Charles Calvert reported the agreement to Lord Baltimore, as he must have done, he would have supplemented his report with a copy of the map on which the Eastern Shore boundary was marked by trees. Calvert could have taken it with him when he made a visit to England in 1669. Such a map could have been copied and recopied to satisfy the curiosity of people in England who were interested in the colonies.

The circumstances suggest that Maps 16 and 17, as well as the maps in the Public Record Office, represent this hypothetical version of Herrman's map, possibly after more than one recopying. In other words, although Maps 16 and 17 were made for the Plantations Office about 1677, several

years after the publication of the engraved map, they represent a form of the map compiled about 1668 and therefore antedate by at least two years the version Herrman sent to England to be printed.

This reconstruction of a possible origin for Map 16 does not entirely account for the mapping of Virginia, represented by Map 17. It is necessary, therefore, to go even a little further into the field of conjecture, because no documents at all refer to a map of Virginia in this period. It seems probable, however, that Herrman accomplished his mapping of the Virginia area, or at least part of it, at about the same time as his work on Maryland. His letter to Stuyvesant, the first statement of his idea, indicates he had in mind the entire area including the Delaware River and "the Virginias." Moreover, according to Lord Baltimore, the map was made "for the benefit of trade," and Chesapeake Bay was a unit as far as shipping was concerned, even though its shores were divided between the jurisdictions of two governments. Herrman's connections with Virginia, both business and personal, were close, and they antedated his settling in Maryland. After his conference with Calvert and the Marylanders at Saint Mary's in October 1659, when we know his mind was turned toward mapmaking, he went to Virginia to confer with the governor and sound out his opinion on the Maryland dispute with New Netherland. He could have begun work on the map of Virginia during this visit. The contemporary sources mentioning the map, however, have to do with Maryland affairs, and the extant records of Virginia are silent. When Herrman wrote of sending his final version of the map to Lord Baltimore—he says he received letters of acknowledgment dated 3 September and 12 November 1670—he called it simply "a map of the country." This suggests that Maryland and Virginia had been combined at that time, as they are on the printed map, although earlier versions may have been separate, as are the surviving manuscripts.

15. Herrman, "Memorandum of Bohemia Manor," p. 32.

16. The documents relating to the subsidy, which has not been noticed in earlier discussions of the map, are printed under 5 and 12 December 1671, in the Public Record Office, *Calendar of Treasury Books*, vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 988. The second entry includes a "letter of direction hereon, dated 1672/3, Feb. 1." Mr. Edward Miller, of the British Museum, has kindly verified the manuscript entries. A later letter of Lord Baltimore to Blathwayt, 18 March 1681, mentions the subsidy in referring to "Mr. Augustine Herman's Mapp, wch. Mapp his Matie. has been pleas'd to allowe of, and did order some moneys for the Printing thereof" (Blathwayt Mss., Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., vol. 18).

17. *CSP/AWI*, 21 January 1674, no. 1210. The dates in the *Calendar* are in New Style, whereas the 1673 date on the map must have been Old Style. Consequently the map may have been published after the privilege, or even as late as 24 March 1674.

18. The name of Thomas Within-brook is not known to have been connected with printing, engraving, or publishing in London. It may have been the anglicized spelling of a Dutch name. Phillips (*The Rare Map*, p. 13) quotes Herrman as

The Publication of Herrman's Map

According to Herrman's statement, the map he sent to the proprietor received the approval of the king and the duke of York, as well as of all others who saw it, and it was applauded as "the best mapp, that was Ever Drawn of any Country whatsoever, with recommendation to the Press."¹⁵ The king's enthusiasm must have been genuine, because not long thereafter a royal grant of forty pounds was made to Lord Baltimore "for a reward for the drawing, engraving and printing of a certain map of His Majesty's Plantations of Virginia and Maryland." This is the earliest reference indicating that the map included Virginia, and the name of that colony is placed first. The grant was recorded in December 1671 and apparently was paid considerably later, in February 1672.¹⁶ Herrman stated that the map cost him about two hundred pounds sterling, "besides his own Labour," without saying what his expenses were and without mentioning the king's subsidy. A royal "privilege," which is mentioned on the printed map, secured to Herrman "or his heirs or assigns" the sole right to the map in the manner of a copy-right for fourteen years from 21 January 1674.¹⁷ Herrman's rights, according to the statement on the map, had been assigned to Thomas Within-brook, an individual not yet identified who may have been a business correspondent.¹⁸ All the business and editorial details connected with the publication of his map must have been carried out by agents, because Herrman himself was never in London. On 2 April 1674, apparently soon after the map's publication, John Seller advertised it in the *London Gazette*. He seems, however, to have been only an agent for the sale of the edition, or perhaps of a part of it. The John Carter Brown copy bears a printed slip pasted below the engraving of Herrman's portrait with the words "Sold by John Seller: Hydrographer to the King at his Shop in Exchange ally in Cornhill. London." The other known copies do not carry this notice. No later editions of the map have been recorded, nor is anything known of the history of the plates.

The Public Record Office Manuscript Maps

The manuscript maps of Maryland and Virginia in the Public Record Office, which are in the same hand and essentially similar to Maps 16 and 17, are not now associated with any specific group of papers, and their provenance is not exactly known.¹⁹ The close kinship between the two sets of manuscript maps is borne out by correspondences in place names. In a sample of fifty-six names in the northern Chesapeake area, forty-three of them occur on the two manuscripts in exactly the same form, a high proportion for the rather free manuscript copying that was usual in the period.²⁰ The correspondences include one error, "E Hope," on both manuscripts. The "Small hopes" grant, which is named "Small hop" on the printed map, was one of Herrman's own holdings, and presumably he would not have made this mistake himself. It must therefore be charged to some intermediate copyist unfamiliar with the area.

One feature of the Public Record Office Maryland manuscript that has not previously been noticed may have special historical significance. This map is drawn on a piece of vellum about thirteen centimeters narrower than that used for Map 16. The northeast corner is crowded and distorted because of the copyist's difficulty in fitting all the material into an inadequate space. He drew the course of the Delaware River without much of its pronounced eastward curve and shows it running more nearly parallel to the right-hand margin than on Map 16. The result is that the latitudes of the settlements on the river are different, and appreciably higher, than they are on Map 16 (which is almost exactly the same as the printed Herrman map) or than the accepted modern reading. While the latitudes of other places on the maps vary no more than an accidental two minutes, the latitude of Newcastle on the Delaware River is twenty-two minutes higher at 39°57' N, or very close to the fortieth parallel. The settlement of Upland (now Chester, Pennsylvania) is at 40°9' N or twenty-six minutes higher than on Map 16 or on the printed Herrman map.

The very mention of the fortieth parallel has special significance to anyone familiar with the origins of William

saying that errors had been made by the engraver, but the source of this quotation is not given and has not been located.

19. See note 1 above. The Maryland map was reproduced in part, omitting the right and left edges with their indications of latitude, in *Crown Collection*, ser. 3, vol. 4, nos. 183-84. There is a possibility that the Maryland map was the manuscript listed in 1780 by Francis Aegidius Assiotti in his unfinished manuscript "List of Maps, Plans, &c: Belonging to the . . . Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations," in the Public Record Office, FE515 (IND 8315).

20. The sample is the same as the list used by L. D. Scisco in his discussion of the printed map in "Notes on Augustine Herrman's Map," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 30 (1938): 343.

21. The best account of the controversy is by E. B. Mathews in pt. 3 of *Report on the Resurvey of the Maryland-Pennsylvania Boundary, Maryland Geological Survey* 7 (1908). See also Dudley Lunt, "The Bounds of Delaware," *Delaware History* 2 (1947): 1-40.

22. CSP/AWI, 20 November 1680, no. 1599.

Penn's Pennsylvania grant of 1681, in which the location of his southern boundary at forty degrees became the basis of conflict over the northern boundary of Lord Baltimore's Maryland colony.²¹ From the beginning Penn had a misconception as to the location on the ground of this parallel, a notion compatible with the incorrect and crowded delineation of the northeastern section of the Public Record Office Maryland manuscript. This misconception, the source of which has never been satisfactorily explained, was maintained tenaciously by Penn even after official surveyors, using a sextant, had observed and reported the correct latitude. If the Public Record Office Maryland manuscript was made in 1677, or about the same time as Map 16, it is not impossible that it came to Penn's notice when he was first planning to obtain a colonial grant, and it could have been a factor in forming the mistaken geographical ideas that were sponsored by him and were first publicized in his map of Pennsylvania (see commentary on Map 15). It may be that the ineptitude of an anonymous copyist, who did not have a sheet of vellum of the proper size, influenced the course of history.

The existence of this manuscript may also explain the statement, otherwise not clear, of Sir John Werden, the duke of York's secretary, in his letter to Blathwayt of 20 November 1680: "I believe descriptions of lines of longitude (especially) and latitude are very uncertain, as also under what meridian the head of Delaware river lies, which I believe has never been surveyed by any careful artist."²² Some writers have suspected Sir John of being ignorant of the existence of the Herrman map, but it may be that his uncertainty was caused instead by having more than one version of it before him.

Map 18

[Carolina from Roanoke River to below Hilton Head. 1664 or later]

Manuscript, on vellum, in colors with gold touches,
75 x 45.1 cm

Inscription on reverse: *The Mapp of Carolina*

1. Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 78. Professor Cumming's pioneering work is the indispensable basis for this note as well as those on other Carolina maps. The only previous notice of this manuscript was by Worthington C. Ford, in "Early Maps of Carolina," *Geographical Review* 16, no. 2 (April 1926): 268-69.

Map 18 is an unsigned and undated production of one of the map makers of the Thames school (see Introduction). He cannot be identified from any of the evidence now available, nor can the copying be assigned to a definite date, although the content could not have appeared on a map before 1664.¹

At one time it was thought that the four Carolina manuscripts in the atlas (Maps 18-21) might have a common provenance and might have been made at the same time by one person, James Lancaster, who signed and dated Map 21 in 1679. The basis for this suggestion was the general resemblance of the manuscripts in coloring and style. Additional information now available concerning the map makers working in London in the seventeenth century has made it apparent that such an assumption cannot be made on the basis of general resemblances alone, because they occur throughout the entire known production of the Thames school. Only the consistent occurrence of individual characteristics in lettering on maps having a close likeness in coloring can provide a basis for judgment in identifying any of these anonymous map makers. Even when the maker of a map is identified, no date for the copying can be assigned without additional evidence, because many of these craftsmen produced maps over long periods of time. Sometimes their materials were new and fresh, but perhaps as often they were out of date. The only certain connection among the four Carolina maps in the atlas is the area they deal with, which was the reason for their juxtaposition in an atlas consisting of maps from many sources and of varying dates.

2. See Louise Hall, "New Englanders at Sea," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, April 1970, pp. 88-108.

The Carolina Voyages

During the first half of the seventeenth century no European settlements were attempted in the Carolinas. The Spaniards, established long before at Saint Augustine following their destruction of the French colonies under Ribaut and Laudonnière, made no serious effort to extend their authority northward, and the English were too preoccupied with their colonies elsewhere to follow up Sir Walter Raleigh's unsuccessful attempts to settle in the Roanoke Sound area. In the 1650s, however, a few pioneers from Virginia filtered southward to Albemarle Sound and the Chowan River. In the following years exploration and colonization of the Carolinas became the object of organized groups in the older English colonies both on the mainland and in the West Indies. At first their projects were directed toward the Cape Fear River and later to regions farther south, closer to danger from the Spaniards in Florida. Groups of merchants were formed in Massachusetts and Barbados as well as in London. The activities of these promoters and the relationships among them, both before and after the granting of the Carolina charter in 1663, form a complicated story, not yet completely known, which historians have had to piece together from a handful of printed sources and the few manuscript documents that have survived. In these circumstances the maps associated with the voyages of reconnaissance and attempted settlement can provide supplementary information of importance.

The following summary lists the recorded voyages to the Carolinas prior to the first permanent settlement and the primary narratives and surviving maps associated with them:

1662 August–November. From Massachusetts, William Hilton of Charlestown, commanding the ship *Adventure*, made a voyage of reconnaissance to the Cape Fear River.

A copy of his manuscript report has been identified (see commentary on Map 19), but no map accompanies it.² Two contemporary manuscript maps resulting from this voyage are known:

British Museum Add. Ms. 5415.g.4 and Map 19.

3. Ibid., pp. 95-99.

- 1663 February-April. In a second voyage from Massachusetts, following up Hilton's reconnaissance, a group of colonists sailed to Cape Fear with their household goods and cattle, intending to remain, but they did not "sit down" there.

No contemporary report of this expedition has come to light, but some information concerning it has been derived from recently discovered Massachusetts court records.³ The dates of the voyage and the few details now known supplant earlier conjectures by historians who were familiar only with a few confusing contemporary references. No map resulted from this expedition.

- 1663-64 10 August-6 January. From Speightstown, Barbados, William Hilton again sailed the *Adventure* in a voyage of reconnaissance along the coast of Carolina, this time from 31° N to Cape Hatteras. He explored the Port Royal area and, for the second time, the Cape Fear River.

A condensed account of the voyage based on Hilton's manuscript journal, which has not survived, was published in London within a few months of his return, in a promotion tract, *A Relation of a Discovery lately made on the Coast of Florida by William Hilton . . . together with Proposals made by the Commissioners of the Lords Proprietors* (Wing H-2043). No map accompanied this publication. Map 18 is the only known contemporary manuscript showing the results of the voyage.

- 1664 From Barbados, a large group of colonists led by John Vassall sailed for the Cape Fear River and arrived on 29 May; their settlement, Charles Town, lasted only three years.

All that is known of this voyage is included in a publication brought out in London two years later in order to promote the settlement. It was printed for Robert Horne and entitled *A Brief*

Description of the Province of Carolina on the Coasts of Floreda. And More perticularly of a New-Plantation begun by the English at Cape-Feare, on that River now by them called Charles-River, the 29th of May. 1664 . . . (Wing B-4571), and was illustrated by an engraved map, measuring 15.3 by 22.9 centimeters with the title "Carolina Described," recorded in Cumming, *Southeast* (no. 60). Material from a source similar to Map 18 was incorporated in it. The only map of the period to show the location of the Charles Town settlement, it is also considered the earliest printed map of the new province.

- 1665 October-December. From Barbados Sir John Yeamans with three ships carrying supplies for the Charles Town settlement sailed for Cape Fear, but the loss of two of his ships forced him to change his plans and return to Barbados, leaving Robert Sandford to carry out his intended search for a new site for a colony south of Cape Romain.

Yeamans left no narrative of his voyage or map based on it, but the circumstances of his expedition are related in the first part of Sandford's manuscript report on his exploration, completed in 1666.

- 1666 14 June-12 July. From Charles Town, Cape Fear, Robert Sandford, who had volunteered to continue Sir John Yeamans's project, sailed southwest along the coast and explored Port Royal Sound, the mouth of the Edisto River, and the harbor he called "Kihawa" at the mouth of the Ashley River. He recommended that a colony be established at "Kihawa," where the Indians were more friendly than those in the Cape Fear region. His report to the Carolina proprietors led eventually to the successful permanent settlement of Charleston, South Carolina.

Sandford's report in the Shaftesbury Papers was briefly summarized in CSP/AWI under 14 July

1666 (no. 1243.1), but it was not published in full until 1886, when it appeared in *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, edited by William L. Saunders (pp. 118–39). No map now accompanies Sandford's report, although there may have been one originally. He mentioned using a map by Hilton and making a revision in a map, presumably the same one.

4. William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 1 (Raleigh, 1886), pp. 39–40; Alexander S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650–1708* (New York, 1911), p. 58n.

Hilton's Second Voyage

On 10 August 1663 the ship *Adventure*, commanded by William Hilton, sailed from Speightstown, Barbados, and for more than five months ranged northeastward along the coast of the mainland from about thirty-one degrees north latitude as far as Cape Hatteras, where it was blown by a storm. Hilton spent some time in the region of Port Royal, where he saw what he thought were the remains of Charles Fort, built by Jean Ribaut's men in 1562, and had tentative and unsatisfactory dealings with some Spaniards from Saint Augustine who were in the area. Later he went to the Cape Fear River and investigated its course and tributaries, especially "Hilton's River," over a period of several weeks. Before returning he purchased land from the Indians.

Hilton's home was in Charlestown, Massachusetts, adjacent to Boston. There is no record of his having any previous connection with the Barbados merchants for whom he made the 1663–64 voyage, but he was a logical choice, having gone to Cape Fear in 1662 on behalf of a Massachusetts group whose follow-up voyage and attempt to start a settlement had met with failure (see commentary on Map 19). Whether or not the Barbadians sought Hilton out, he apparently volunteered his services, anticipating a suitable reward in the form of a grant of land.⁴

It is known that a "Journal and mapp" of the Carolina coast made by Hilton was in existence two years later in 1666, when Robert Sandford used them in his exploration of part of the same coastline. Sandford had some trouble interpret-

5. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 1: 127.

ing Hilton's map. He was confused as to the identity of a river—"nothing of the Coast makeing like those drafts which Hilton had given of it"—and later decided that "Hilton had noe knowledge of this River and soe could not lay it downe."⁵ The river was the Edisto, which is not shown on Map 18. Sandford's reference to "drafts" suggests that Hilton's "Journall" may have been illustrated with sketches of coast-line and profiles. If so, it is all the more unfortunate that the log does not survive in its original form. Hilton had spent most of his life at sea, and it can be assumed that he was experienced in using and making the charts and sketches usual in the period.

Although we have no way of knowing exactly what Hilton's map looked like, there can be little doubt that Map 18 is a decorative version of it, possibly made directly or perhaps at two or more removes from his original. There can be no doubt at all that it represents Hilton's voyage more completely than any other extant map. It contains most of the details mentioned in the 1664 *Relation* of the voyage, and it does not contain any soundings or specific information concerning areas not covered in the course of the exploration. The only exception is "Charles Towne" on the west bank of the Cape Fear River, the town settled later in 1664 as a result of his voyage. Even if the map is not a copy made directly from the original, it gives the impression of being closer to the actual voyage than the engraved "Horne" map of 1666, which is much smaller in size and rather poorly engraved, with more generalized coastlines and fewer place names. The omitted place names are chiefly in the Port Royal area, and they may have been left out of the printed map because the emphasis of the publication in which it appeared was specifically to encourage settlers to go to the Cape Fear colony.

Map 19

[Carolina from Cape Hatteras to below Cape Romain. 1662 or later]

Manuscript, on vellum, in colors with gold touches,
61.3 x 53 cm

Inscriptions on reverse: *Carolina Carolina*

Map 19 is one of the examples of an unsigned and undated production by a copyist of maps and charts working in the manner of the Thames school (see Introduction). The evident similarity of style between this and Maps 18, 20, and 21, which also deal with the Carolina area, is not sufficiently close to suggest identity of hand, and at present the copyist must be considered unknown.¹

The content of the map resulted directly from the first expedition sent out by a group of Massachusetts merchants organized to investigate the possibilities for settlement in the Cape Fear region of North Carolina. The expedition sailed in a single vessel, *Adventure*, under Captain William Hilton. (For the chronology of the early voyages, see the commentary on Map 18.) The outlines and most of the place names have been known for many years in another form, a rough pen-and-ink copy in the British Museum. This version, in the hand of John Locke, has a title: "Discouery made by William Hilton of Charles towne in New England Marriner from Cape Hatterask Lat: 35:30' to the west of Cape Roman in Lat: 32.30' In the yeare 1662 And layd Down in the forme as you see by Nicholas Shapley of the towne aforesaid Nouember: 1662."²

Nicholas Shapley, whose death occurred about three months after he "layd Down" the map, was "clerk of the writs" in Charlestown, Massachusetts. A former mariner, he was apparently not a participant in the expedition, and the basic information on the map was probably compiled from Hilton's log and sketches made in the course of the voyage.

1. Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 79. Worthington C. Ford in "Early Maps of Carolina," *Geographical Review* 16, no. 2 (April 1926): 268-69 discussed this manuscript briefly.

2. Add. Ms. 5414.g.4. Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 58. Reproduced in *Crown Collection*, ser. 1, vol. 5, no. 30. This commentary was originally based on Professor Louise Hall's paper, "Cape Fear before the Charter: New Documents on Two Expeditions, 1662-1663," presented at a meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina in Raleigh, 5 April 1963, and generously made available by her in unpublished form. A revised form of her paper was printed in April 1970 in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, pp. 88-108, with the title "New Englanders at Sea."

3. Hall, "New Englanders at Sea," p. 90. Miss Hall suggests that Shapley was the proprietor of a geographer-navigator's shop, similar to those in London operated by individuals discussed in E. G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1954), especially chapters 6 and 7.

4. Add. Ms. 9767, 29 September 1679 and 24 June 1680.

The inventory accompanying Shapley's will listed compasses and other navigation instruments, "semens books," and "parchments & ould platts." His possession of these items suggests that he may have had some professional experience in the practice of nautical draftsmanship.³

The existence of two forms of the map, radically different in size and appearance but close in content, raises the question of what Shapley's manuscript may have looked like, a tantalizing question that cannot now be answered. Variations indicate that neither of the known versions was copied directly from the other, and there is no certainty that either was copied directly from Shapley's original; there may have been intermediate forms in both cases. On the Locke copy there is one name, "Cran Iland," which is not on Map 19; "C: Feare" is on Map 19 but does not appear on the Locke version. Several of the place names vary in form and spelling, indicating that both John Locke and the anonymous copyist of Map 19 may have had difficulty in reading some of them.

Locke's version of the map has usually been ascribed to 1662, the date in its heading, but the actual copying was probably done later. His association with Carolina affairs arose from his connection with the earl of Shaftesbury, who was the leading figure among the proprietors of the colony. It may be conjectured, though not assumed, that Locke copied the map at some time between the summer of 1667, when he became a member of the earl's household, and January 1674, when Shaftesbury was dismissed by Charles II from the chancellorship. The date of the anonymous Map 19 cannot be assigned except within even wider limits. It could conceivably have been made at any time between 1663 and about 1683, when it was attached to its guard in the Blathwayt Atlas in the Plantations Office. Possibly it was one of the Carolina maps paid for by the Plantations Office in 1679 and 1680,⁴ or it may have been made earlier for one of the Carolina proprietors, several of whom were members of the Plantations Committee as well as of the councils that preceded it.

Until recent years the John Locke copy of the map was the principal evidence for the first voyage from Massachusetts to Cape Fear. No account of the expedition has ever been found

in official collections of papers, and no one knew exactly when it took place, who went on the voyage, or who its sponsors were. Some of the answers to these questions are now available through the identification of a manuscript in the Royal Society as a copy of a report made by the principal members on the return voyage; research by Professor Louise Hall in Massachusetts court records has produced additional information. The content of the manuscript is illustrated by Shapley's map, which not only shows the extent of the coast and river explored but also conveys an image of the future colony that was taking shape in the minds of the "discoverers," as they styled themselves. The text of their report follows.

Ye relacion of ye late discovery made in Florida

We whose names are underwritten, who were sent in ye ship Adventure, whereof Wm Hilton is master, in Aug. 1662. by ye Company intrusted in New England for ye discovery of Cape Feare and more South parts of Florida, doe conceave ourselves bound to render this brief account of ye same, videlicet

We set sayle from Charles Towne in New England ye 14. of Aug. 1662. and on ye 3. Sept. following we sailed by Cape feare, lying in North latitude 33d. 45m: ye wind being short, we could not double ye Cape Sholes, we ran through ye midle of ye breakes, wch lye of ye sd Cape, and came unexpectedly into ye Roade on ye Southwest and by West-side, whereoff appeared a faire haven; but some being sent to sound ye Entry did not yt time find it passable for a ship: our busines also being more Southerly, ye next morning we bore away, according to order, ye wind at North-East; but as we past along, towards night a Storm arising, we were constrained to put off to Sea, and so were driven between Wind and Current Southward to ye Latit. of 30 d. before ye Storm abated: Afterwards ye wind came to North west, so yt we could not obtain ye sight of any land; for we could not ly nigher N. by East and some times N. N. East, being often becalmd. ye 12th of Sept. we got in sight of

land, on ye North side of Cape feare, and running along ye Coast more Northerly, not without some difficulty, searching for an Entry, according to report, on ye North side of ye Cape; but nothing being found, we kept along, till ye wind came to N. E., wch drove us back again to ye Southside off Cape feare; and yn it was resolved to search ye Entry into ye Heaven a litle more carefully, concluding now, yt if any where, there must needs be ye Entry into ye sd river, contrary to all former expectacions: but after we had doubled ye Cape sholes, ye wind blowing fresh at N. N. E. we could not get in to ye road; but after some fruitles endeavors it was concluded, yt ye best way was, to sayle more Southerly, and ye next morning we sayled by Cape Romano, where seemed to be a harbour on ye North-side of ye Cape, but not so good to come at, as yt on ye Southside of Cape Feare; but ye wind being very high, and a lee shore, attempts would prouve in vaine, and very dangerous: so along we past, keeping as neer ye shoare, as we could, till a storm arising, we were constrained to put off to Sea, and so were driven back againe, to ye latit. of 30 d. ye 2d time, wch storme continued untill ye 25 Sept. and yn mitigated. There was endeavors also this time, to search this coast as we came back, but all to no purpose: yn it was resolved, wth all expedition possible to recover Cape fear, and to search ye entry into ye haven better; and fearing, our whole voyage would be lost, should we make no attempts, we laboured through contrary winds, and calmes, untill ye 3d of Oct., before we could arrive in to Cape Feare road, where being now come to an Anchor again, we Judged our early worke to discover, what might be there, and found it a large and deep road, having good bottom, and well secured from most dangerous winds, lying open between ye South; and ye West, (hardly so much) but after ye Masters mate and some others had spent most of ye day in ye long boat, more seriously to sound ye Entry in to ye Haven, and found in ye sholdest place 2. fathoms deep at low water on ye 4th octob. we weighed, and went into ye Haven, where was 5. 6. 7. 8. fathom

water, and in a weeks time, spent wth ye Indians, and in sounding ye River (now call'd Charles river) and ye ship turning up alway agst ye wind, we gott up 15. or 16. leagues in to ye river; and after in our long boate half of us went 15. leagues further, till at ye head of ye river we could not tell, wch of ye many rivers to take, and so returned to our ship, and as we went and came, we found many faire and deep rivers, all ye way running in to this Charles river: wch abounds wth Sturgeon, and variety of other well tasted fish, wch some of us have eaten off: There are severall sholds of Oisters wthin ye Havens mouth, but we saw none so big, as they are in New England, nor are they so muddy tasted. All ye way up ye river there are abundance of vast meddows, besides upland fields, yt renders ye Contry fit to be calld a Land for Catle, whereby they yt dwell there, may enjoy ye freedom from yt toyle in other plantacions, where they are necessitated to provide hay. And there are besides greatt swamps laden wth varieties of great Oakes, and other trees of all Sortes, and some very great Ciprus-trees, tall Cedars, Ash, maple, poplar, great bay-trees, willows, large grape-vines in abundance, and other fruites. ye uplands are laden wth all sorts of Canes, of wch many are very great, walnuts and pine-trees: And ye Land hath generally great store off weeds and grasse. We found also some barren land, and other exceeding good land, most of it very easy to plow up. There is scarce a stone to be seene, only in 2. or 3. places by ye side of ye river we spied some rocks in a very sandy ground. We have seen india Corn stalks as big as a mans wrist, 11. or 12. foot long; and ye weeds thick: Amongst it there is very good clay. We saw severall mulberry trees grow up and downe in ye wood, and some baggs of silk worms; some of us sawe bees swarming, though ye latter end of october. Few of us saw any mosquitos, and they yt did, saw but few. Some of us supposed, we heard a kennel off wolves, one night in our travell. There appeared to us no kind off rattle-snakes: Some other snakes there be, wch ye natives boyle wth their victuals: ye indians here are very poor, and silly Creatures, divers of ym are very

aged; but they are not numerous: for in all our various travells for 3. weeks and more, we saw not 100 in all, they were very courteous to us, and affraid of us; but they are very theevish; By our best observacion we cannot conceive this Climat and place admits of any considerable winter, if any at all, besides ye Consideracion of ye many Palmettos growing naturally there, wch renders it a summer Contry: we found ye trees some flourishing, some blossoming, and some falling. There are abundance of Deer, as appears by ye many tracks, wch we cannot avoyd almost if we goe ashoare: We saw two run by us: There are store of Otters; and of fowles there is abundance, Gray and White geese, Ducks, Teale, Eagles, Goshawkes, Quayles, Doves, Crowes, Blackbirds, Gulls, Cormorants, Cranes, Hernes, Woodpeckers, Parrots, Parroketos, Ox-eyes, etc. and severall sorts of other fowles. We know no fruit or grain, yt grows in New England, but will grow there very well. Besides potatoes; Oranges, Lemons, Plantins, Olives, Cotton-trees; and we know not, why ye Pine apple will not grow there; and also ye sugar-cane; for there are excellent tall and strong wilde canes in abundance: Tobacco must needs excell. There is reason to Judge, ye Climat, and Contry will yield two crops a year. We conceive, many of ye premises may be brought in a few years to a very considerable trade by ye English, if prudently managed. We may find present room enough, and very good land for severall townes; besides for multitudes of farms, by what we see, having had some slight view only of ye places by ye river side in so short a time, our time limited shortning so much, and ye season of ye year, Judged on ye New England coast calling us away. But what is further in ye Contry, will be, when any English in habit there, better known. There is for ye present, ground and encouragement enough, and more yn enough, to make those amongst us, whom it concerned, to purchase and buy ye sd river, and ye lands about it, of ye Natives, it being ye most temperate of ye Temperate Zone, and ye Climat fitted to ye Soyle. We wish all Englishmen, yt know how to

improove and use a plentifull Contrey and condicion.
not to delay to posses it; by wch also they may be more
ready to find out and enjoy wth more fertility, les
charge and danger, more of this Southern part of
Florida: Al wch we leave to further consideracion.
Aboard ye Ship Adventure ye 6. of Nov. 1662.

Ye names of some of ye discoverers:
William Hilton John Green
Samuel Goldsmith James Bate
Lieut. Enoch Grenlife Edward Winslowe.⁵

The names of most of the men who signed the report and of some of their associates, who have been identified through Miss Hall’s research, appear on the map, presumably in the places they had chosen for themselves and hoped to occupy when they returned with their families, tools, and livestock to begin a settlement. A few of them actually did take part in the voyage of migration in the following year, which ended in failure. Because nothing ever came of their plans, only two of the names appear on the map of Hilton’s second expedition (Map 18)—Hilton’s River and Green’s River—and none appears on a modern map of the Cape Fear area. The names that are associated with recorded individuals are listed below, with the variant forms from Locke’s version of the map in parentheses:⁶

- Piomslowland (P. Winslow). Possibly a misreading of “E. Winslow’s Land.” Edward Winslow (ca. 1641–82) of Boston; mariner, son-in-law of Hilton
- Hiltons: R Captain William Hilton (1617–82) of Newbury and Charlestown; mariner
- Greenlastes: R (Greenlesses R). Enoch Greenleaf, or Grenlife (1617–after 1683), of Newbury, who styled himself lieutenant; dyer, brother-in-law of Hilton
- Greenes: R (Greens R). John Greene (before 1621–88) of Charlestown; also a member of second

5. The Royal Society of London, Classified Papers 7 (1), item 7. The manuscript is in the hand of Henry Oldenburg, secretary of the society from 1662 to 1677. The transcription originally made by Professor Louise Hall, from photographs taken especially for her at the society, has been modified for use in this volume in accordance with the guidelines set forth by A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall in *The Correspondence of Henry Oldenburg* (Madison, Wis., 1965–), 1: xxii–xxiii.

6. Miss Hall’s identifications of these individuals are here given in very brief form, condensed from “New Englanders at Sea,” pp. 90–97.

7. See François de Dainville, *Le Langage des Géographes* (Paris, 1964), pp. 230-34, fig. 31, and pls. 15 and 20. See also Edward Lynam, *The Map-maker's Art* (London, 1953), p. 43: "Unfortunately there was no uniformity in these towered symbols before 1700."

	New England expedition, of 1663
Doggles	(Doggles R). Henry Douglas (d. 1667); also a member of second New England expedition
Broumes: R	(Browns R). Joshua Browne (1642-1720) of Newbury; later deacon
Badgers: D	John Badger (1643-91) of Newbury; miller, step-brother of Browne, nephew of Greenleaf and of Hilton's wife
Hory: R	William Hurry (ca. 1635-90) of Charlestown; mariner, related by marriage to Douglas
Bordges: R	(Borges R:). Thomas Burges (d. 1683) of Charlestown
Goldsmiths: R	(Goldsmith R). Samuel Goldsmith of Harford County, Maryland; merchant, major in militia

There is no information as to how many more men may have sailed on the ship *Adventure* in 1662. The list of identified names suggests that the crew formed part of a closely knit group of neighbors, friends, and relatives exploring a new country. They hoped to occupy these broad new lands, watered by streams navigable for trade and commerce, and start a new life different from their experience in the already crowded towns and rocky fields of Massachusetts.

The name "James Forte" on Map 19 is accompanied by a representation of a small fortification topped by a pennant with the cross of Saint George. The same name in a slightly different form appears on the Locke version, with a rather less formally drawn fort. The representation suggests the conventional symbol sometimes used on early maps as well as on those of the eighteenth century for a tower or small fort not extensive enough to be shown in ground plan.⁷ The presence of this fort on the Locke copy has in the past aroused discussion and conjecture among some North Carolina historians. No fort could, of course, have been built during the

first hurried exploration of the area, and there is no evidence that such a structure existed before the voyage. The explanation probably is that Hilton and his companions visualized the building of a fort on the east bank of the Cape Fear River to protect their future settlement.⁸

8. Professor Hall has proposed that the inclusion of the fort may have resulted from a misreading of the name of James Bate, the only signer of the report of the voyage whose name was not attached to some natural feature on the map. Born in 1624, and still living in 1685, in Connecticut, he had been a resident of Dorchester and a shareholder in the Taunton Iron Works. The fort symbol, Miss Hall suggests, could have been added by the copyist of some intermediate form of the map between Shapley's original and the two forms of it now known. If correct, this suggestion would provide an explanation for the otherwise puzzling omission of Bate's name from the map.

Map 20

1. Add. Ms. 9767; see above, p. 109. Cumming (*Southeast*, no. 80) attributed this manuscript tentatively to James Lancaster, 1679, the maker and date of Map 21. The hand is not, however, the same as in Map 21, but, rather, is identical with that of Maps 16 and 17.

2. Add. Ms. 13970.b. This manuscript was attributed to William Hack in the British Museum's 1827 *Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts & Plans*, 3: 513 (first item) and dated "about 1680." The same manuscript is described by Cumming as no. 98, following the early attribution to Hack, about 1684. It is reproduced in *Crown Collection*, ser. 1, vol. 5, no. 34.

[Carolina from Cape Henry to Saint Augustine. 1677?]

Manuscript, on vellum, in colors with gold touches,
57.3 x 65.6 cm

The hand of the anonymous craftsman of the Thames school responsible for Maps 16 and 17 (Maryland and Virginia) also produced this manuscript of the Carolina coast. As with those maps, the identity of hand has been established by detailed visual comparison. The entry in the Plantations Office account book for 20 November 1677, for "a large Map of the Streights, Maps of Barbados, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina drawn with ye hand" is assumed to refer to this map as well as to Maps 16 and 17.¹

Another copy, or rather a closely similar version of the map, exists in the British Museum.² The hand is the same, the coloring almost identical; the outlines, the soundings, the latitudes, and the longitudes either are identical or vary only as one manuscript copy usually varies from another. It may be said, perhaps, that Map 20 is somewhat more careful in detail, and it is on a sheet of vellum 22.9 centimeters wider, giving the content a more handsome setting. It also contains several place names not on the British Museum manuscript, including "Roanoke: Inlett," "Albemarles: Count[y]," and the names of four rivers running into Albemarle Sound—"Paskotanko," "Salmon Creek," "Noratike R," and "Caraton." Except for these features, there is nothing to show there was any difference in date between the two versions, and the appearance of additional names cannot be considered as conclusive evidence for a later date of copying.

The existence of these two similar manuscripts suggests that others, not now known to exist, may have been made about the same time. It would have been appropriate for copies to be made for the earl of Shaftesbury and any or all of the other Carolina proprietors as well as for the Plantations Office.

The date of copying, before November 1677, is in conformity with Professor Cumming's conclusion, based on internal evidence, that the map was compiled after 1674 and before 1680, when the Charleston settlement was moved to its permanent location. He characterized this manuscript as the most detailed representation of the Carolinas up to that time, especially for the northern section around Albemarle Sound. The Carolina proprietors were especially interested in obtaining information about the Albemarle area that would encourage "Trade with England and other places." In November 1676 they instructed Thomas Eastchurch, the governor they were sending to their troubled and still unprofitable colony, "to send us an exact account of how many foot there is at Low water in your several Inlets, what safety there is when a shipp is in and where she may doe best to unlade or take in Commodities for this has bine so concealed and uncertainly reported here as if some persons amongst you had joyn'd with some of New England to engross that poore trade you have and Keepe you still under hatches."³

It may be noted that Map 20, while giving numerous soundings, does not show the depths at the crucial openings between the off-shore islands, with the exception of "Conetto Inlett." Furthermore, no depths are indicated within the sound itself, nor is there any indication of landing places. If, as seems likely, the proprietors had some form of this map before them, they would have found it deficient in exactly the points they mentioned. Certainly it would not have helped them in choosing the best locations for the port towns they were determined to establish along the sound.

The information wanted by the proprietors was not furnished by Thomas Eastchurch, who stopped off at Antigua on his way to Carolina and never reached the colony. Thomas Miller, the collector of customs deputed by Eastchurch to act for him as governor, arrived in Albemarle in July 1677. Almost immediately he became embroiled in the Culpeper Rebellion, and the colony records along with all his papers were seized by the rebels. He was imprisoned, and although he eventually escaped and made his way to England, it seems unlikely that he would have been able to salvage a map or a written description, even if he had made an

3. CSP/AWI, 21 November 1676, no. 1147; quoted from the more complete version in William L. Saunders, ed., *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, vol. 1 (Raleigh, 1886), p. 232.

4. Saunders, *Colonial Records*, 1: 264-67.

5. Add. Ms. 5415.g.6. Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 99. Reproduced in *ibid.*, pl. 41, and in *Crown Collection*, ser. 1, vol. 1, no. 29. The 1827 *British Museum Catalogue*, 3: 516, attributes it to William Hack, about 1684. The hand is, however, no longer considered to be Hack's.

6. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, 4 vols. (New Haven, 1934-38), 3: 247 and ff.

attempt to carry out that part of the governor's instructions.⁴

Much better and more specific information concerning the Outer Banks and the entrances to Albemarle Sound did reach England a few years later, although its source is not known. An anonymous manuscript chart in the British Museum showed many soundings of channels, especially in two of the inlets as well as up into the sound.⁵ It contained much of the information the proprietors had asked for in 1676, but the answers were discouraging, showing plainly that the channels were devious, shallow, and dangerous for any but small vessels. This map has been attributed to about the year 1684, although there is no specific evidence, either internal or external, for an exact date. Its contents, however, may well have contributed to the proprietors' loss of interest in fostering transoceanic trade to their northern settlement. Inevitably their efforts centered on the promising Charleston settlement with its excellent harbor, and North Carolina received little attention for the ensuing half century.⁶

Map 21

[Albemarle Sound, North Carolina] *Made by James Lancaster: Anno Domini: 1679*

Manuscript, on vellum, in colors with gold touches,
48.2 x 64.2 cm

Inscription on reverse: *Carolina*

James Lancaster, who signed this map, was one of the Thames school of manuscript map makers (see Introduction). His name has not been found on any other manuscript, but he was a freeman of the Drapers' Company, having served his apprenticeship with John Burston, one of the better-known members of the group, from 1656 to 1663. On 27 August 1661 he married Burston's daughter Florence in the Church of Holy Trinity Minories.¹ In 1679, when he produced this map, Lancaster must have been following his craft independently for about sixteen years, and a high degree of skill and artistic taste is apparent in the single example of his work that can at present be identified.

The reason for making the copy in this handsome form is not known, but the Plantations Committee may have found occasion to refer to it in connection with discussions of the Culpeper Rebellion, which disturbed the Albemarle region of Carolina in 1677–80.² Expenditures for manuscript maps of Carolina, not specifically described, are noted in the accounts of the Plantations Committee for 29 September 1679 and 24 June 1680.³ Possibly one of the entries refers to this manuscript.

Identification of James Lancaster as a professional copyist means that the date 1679 refers only to the present copy of the map and provides no evidence concerning the origin of its actual design. Documents of the early period of North Carolina settlement are extremely scarce, as has been noted by all its historians. Clues to the date, the maker, and the purpose of the original map must, therefore, be sought in the content.

1. Percival Boyd, *Roll of the Drapers' Company of London* (Croydon, 1934), records the dates of apprenticeship. Additional details are included through the courtesy of Mr. Tony Campbell, London.

2. The only description of this map in print is in Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 81. In the note to no. 78 Professor Cumming quotes a letter from Sir Peter Colleton to Blathwayt, dated 9 February 1679/80, sending him "a Narrative of the passages of Albemarle as they have appeared to the Proprietors by letters & informations of persons come from thence." Cumming suggests that all four of the Carolina manuscript maps in the atlas (Maps 18–21) may have been connected with Colleton's letter. Since we now know there is no evidence connecting the four maps except their physical juxtaposition in this volume, the suggestion is probably not valid for the other three. It may, however, be correct for this particular map. This would require the copying by James Lancaster for the Plantations Office to have been completed between 9 February, the date of the letter, and 24 March 1679/80, after which the date 1680 would have been used.

3. Add. Ms. 9767.

4. Wing H-620;
Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland*
(Baltimore, 1949), no. 46.

5. *Virginia Colonial Abstracts*, vol. 20, ed.
Beverly Fleet (Baltimore,
1961), p. 101.

Basically the design is very simple, and it may well have been developed from a casual pen-and-ink sketch. It was not intended to be a navigation chart, because only a few shoals are indicated and no soundings are given. The rivers, inlets, and islands are roughly outlined, and named, but the most distinctive feature is the location of twenty-three houses representing plantations along the sound and the rivers running into it. The purpose of the map seems to have been to give a general idea of the extent of settlement in the area at the time the map was drawn rather than to identify the settlers. The houses are not named except for "Whittys House" near the mouth of the "Paspotank" (Pasquotank) River. This exception provides a possible clue to the map's origin.

Among the small number of identifiable individuals concerned with the earliest settlement of North Carolina was Captain John Whitty, mariner, of London. He was of some importance in the Virginia trade as early as 1653, and his name is to be found in a pamphlet printed three years later. John Hammond, the author of *Leah and Rachel, Or, the Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia, and Mary-Land* (London, 1656),⁴ dedicated his tract "To Those two worthy Commanders and Marriners, Capt. Iohn Whittie, Commander of the good Ship, the Freeman, now bound for Virginia; and Capt. Sam. Tilghman, Commander of the Golden Fortune, now bound for the Province of Mary-Land." Hammond speaks of the two captains as "living in England, and Using the Trade of Virginia and Maryland" and knowing the colonies well, so that they could testify to the truth of his favorable statements as to conditions there. He mentions also their "affable usage" of their passengers and their "noble deportments towards the inhabitants in those Countries."

Captain Whitty prospered sufficiently in the Virginia trade to acquire some land in Northumberland County. Two parcels, totaling 2,850 acres, were patented to him in 1661; the records indicate that he had disposed of some part of his holdings before 1664.⁵ For some years colonists from Virginia had been taking up land in what is now the northern part of North Carolina, and apparently Whitty's interest also turned in that direction. It is not known when he acquired

his plantation in Albemarle, but it seems to have been before the Carolina charter was granted to the eight proprietors in 1663. About that time they discussed with him the geography of the Albemarle area, and he told them of an inland route to it from Virginia. During the summer of that year Whitty served as their trusted messenger, carrying a copy of the charter, together with letters and instructions, from London to Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, the only one of the proprietors who lived in America.⁶ How deeply Whitty was involved in the early attempts to promote settlement in the Albemarle area is not clear, but at some unspecified time he submitted to the proprietors a set of proposals "for the inhabiting of Carolina and for the building of cities and towns for the said colony."⁷

There is evidence that his own plantation had become a going concern by 1665. Several references to it are found in a group of letters concerned with activities of the proprietors in North Carolina between 1664 and 1674, which came to light some years ago and were printed in 1958.⁸ Several of the letters deal with the plantations belonging to Sir John Colleton, one of the proprietors, on Colleton (now Collington) Island and Powell's Point. Both of these locations may be seen on the map, named and marked by houses, although without any indication of the owner. Whitty was engaged to furnish stock for these plantations, but his arrangements miscarried, causing unexpected problems for Colleton's manager when he arrived at the island. According to the correspondence, the fault was not Captain Whitty's. He was eager to set things right, and he did not lose the confidence of Colleton, who wrote to the manager, "As for the Island I saw only with Capt. Whitty's eyes, heard with his ears, who pretends he hath been over it & renders it to me, & I suppose to you to be a most brave and fertile Island." Again he wrote, "Capt. Whitty tells me yt hee hath a Carpenter & Cooper there, I mean in Albemarle: wch you may make use of."⁹ One of the letters, dated 2 November 1665, written by Whitty himself from London, mentions some difficulties with agents entrusted with his affairs in Carolina. He speaks also of the plague that was prevalent in London at the time, and since this letter is the last that is known of the captain, it is possible

6. CSP/AWI, 8 September 1663, no. 557.

7. Ibid., [1667], no. 378, printed in "Addenda, 1574-1674" in volume covering 1675-76. The attribution of this document to 1667 must be incorrect. It is more likely to have been written in 1663-65.

8. In 1933 this group of twenty-eight letters and documents was advertised by Maggs Brothers in a special catalogue, *North Carolina under the Lords Proprietors: A Series of Original Documents*. Later acquired by the North Carolina State Archives, they were printed in full in William S. Powell, ed., *Ye Countie of Albemarle in Carolina* (Raleigh, 1958). Mr. Powell gives some biographical information on Whitty in a note on page 6.

9. Powell, *Countie of Albemarle*, pp. 6, 12.

10. CSP/AWI, [19 April 1667], no. 1460.

11. The manuscript map drawn by Nicholas Comberford in 1657 is the only earlier map to show any detail for the area (Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 50; another copy described under no. 51). Professor Cumming discussed its value as a source in "The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina," *American Historical Review* 45, no. 1 (October 1939): 82-89. Further information is contained in E. G. McPherson, "Nathaniell Batts, Landholder on Pasquotank River, 1660," *North Carolina Historical Review* 43, no. 1 (Winter, 1966): 66-81. See also the discussion of sources for seventeenth-century North Carolina history in Powell, *Countie of Albemarle*, pp. 71-77.

that he became one of the victims and never was able to make the voyage to Carolina he planned for the spring of the following year. In any case, on 19 April 1667 a petition from his widow was received in London, requesting a license that would allow a vessel named *America*, built by Whitty in Virginia, to sail there from London.¹⁰

The possible association of the map with Captain Whitty rests chiefly on its location of "Whittys House" on the Pasquotank River and its omission of the names of other early plantation owners. If the association can be accepted, the original sketch for the map may have been made as early as 1663, and it is probably no later than 1667, because it seems unlikely that any map would have emphasized Whitty's plantation very long after his death. The sketch may have been drawn by Whitty himself for Sir John Colleton when they were discussing arrangements for the plantations on Colleton Island and Powell's Point about September 1663, when the baronet first obtained his grant for the island. The map could have been a device intended to help him see "with Capt. Whitty's eyes" the location and surroundings of his new venture. Such a purpose would provide a possible explanation for the map's limited content.

If the original sketch was made in the period 1663-67 instead of in 1679, when James Lancaster copied it, the information it records takes on a definite value as representing the Albemarle area at the beginning of the proprietary period.¹¹

Map 22

A mapp of Virginia discovered to ye Hills, and in it's Latt: From 35. deg: & 1/2 neer Florida, to 41. deg: bounds of new England. John Goddard sculp: Domina Virginia Farrer Collegit. Are sold by I Stephenson at ye Sunn below Ludgate. [London,] 1651.

Engraved, 26.8 x 35 cm, with full margins and deckle edge on four sides. Watermark similar to Heawood 1680-83

Inscription on reverse, in Blathwayt's hand: *Old Map of Virginia*

This copy of the well-known Ferrar (or Farrer) map of Virginia was probably revised and printed in 1652 without any change in the imprint.¹ The sheet on which it was engraved has its original wide margins with deckle edges and shows no signs of ever having been bound in a book. It was, however, folded vertically and laterally into four sections at some time before it was pasted to a guard in the atlas. Blathwayt docketed it as an "old" map of Virginia, indicating that he considered it out of date by the 1680s. Consequently, it is unlikely that he obtained it for any current need of the Lords of Trade. Although it is impossible to be certain by what means the map came into their possession, there are circumstances that suggest one possible source.

On 27 May 1669 the governor of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley, wrote to the earl of Arlington, then the secretary of state in charge of affairs of the mainland colonies, to tell him of a projected inland expedition. Berkeley had no great enthusiasm for the journey: "I did this last spring resolve to make an Essay to doe his Majestie a memorable service which was in the Company of Two hundred Gent who had engaged to goe along with me to find out the East India sea . . . But . . . unusual and continued Raynes hindred my intentions nor can I in reason be sorry for it thoughe I am of that age that requires that very little time should be mispent. . . . But my Lord if his Majestie be pleased I shal prosecute this de-

1. Coolie Verner, "The Several States of the Farrer Map of Virginia," in *Studies in Bibliography: Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia* 3 (1950-51): 281-84. The fifth state, which was issued by John Overton, "without Newgate at the corner of little old Baly," was tentatively assigned to 1667 but must have been published between September 1665, after which date Overton started in business at that address, and September 1666, when his shop was destroyed in the Great Fire. See R. A. Skelton, *County Atlases of the British Isles*, Map Collectors' Circle, no. 41 (1968), pp. 89-90.

2. CSP/AWI, 27 May 1669, no. 70, summarizes the letter without including the postscript. The full text is printed in Clarence W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians 1650-1674* (Cleveland, 1912), pp. 175-76.

3. Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 46, discusses this manuscript and its relationship to the printed map and to the book in which it is inserted, John Ferrar's own copy of *Virgo Triumphans*, by Edward Williams (London, 1650), now in the New York Public Library (Wing W-2661).

singe and wil send me his comission to doe it I shall this next spring goe with such a strength that shal secure me against al opposition whether of the Spaniards or Indians." In a postscript to the letter he added: "By this Mappe it should seeme that this Expedition is supposd more jaule [jolly] and easy than I beleeeve we shal find it."²

No map is now found with the letter, but unless Berkeley had in his possession some completely unknown production, he must have been referring to the Ferrar map. No other map so well suggests a "jolly" journey. The placing of the western coastline just beyond the Appalachian Mountains and the portrait of Sir Francis Drake emphasize the supposed ease of linking up the two English coasts of North America. The inscription below the portrait is to the effect that New Albion was to be reached in ten days' march with fifty men on foot and thirty horsemen, going from the head of the James River "ouer those hills and through the rich adiacent Vallyes beautified with as proffitable rivers, which necessarily must run into yt peacefull Indian Sea." In the years following the map's publication Berkeley had learned enough of the interior of the country to distrust somewhat this optimistic prediction. Map 22, which is folded to convenient size, may have been the enclosure that accompanied Berkeley's letter. It could easily have found its way from the secretary of state to the Plantations Office at any time after the reorganization of that office in 1675.

For Berkeley to have owned the map and to have been interested in it long after its first publication would not have been surprising. As a production of the Ferrar family it represented and connected two of the continuing problems of his governorship—the attempt to establish a silk industry and the exploration of the interior. The influential Ferrars, and Mistress Virginia in particular, were actively concerned with the encouragement of silkworm culture in the colony for which she was named. The family also actively promoted the expansion of settlement toward the south and exploration of the west. John Ferrar, Virginia's father, was responsible for a manuscript map containing many of the ideas expressed in Map 22, notably that of the narrowness of the North American continent.³ As first printed in 1651, the map bore his

name, but this was later deleted and Virginia's name substituted. The map was also revised to emphasize the interest in the south by the addition of place names in the area south of Virginia, and the portrait of Drake was introduced in order to dramatize more vividly the nearness of New Albion on the Western Ocean. In 1652 also appeared Virginia Ferrar's poem on the same subject, "To the Virginian Gentlemen Planters":

Sirs, what's to your Eyes and Eares presented,
Is for your Honour and Wealth intended.
If now a Virgins counsell you will take,
Great Treasure of it you shall surely make.
And if more South a little you will go,
Infinite Riches shall upon you flow.
Adde to't a Westerly Discovery,
Then happy are you made eternally.⁴

In 1668 Governor Berkeley was still struggling to establish silk production on a commercial basis in Virginia and to find a route to the Pacific—goals perhaps equally difficult of achievement for him. In that year he sent the king a present of "the first product of the new manufacture of silke,"⁵ and not long thereafter he sponsored John Lederer, a young German physician, in his first exploration of the interior, the results of which gave no support to the theory that the continental crossing was short and easy.⁶

The Ferrar map has been discussed and reproduced many times since the nineteenth century. In 1950 its five states were differentiated by Coolie Verner, and in 1958 W. P. Cumming described and reproduced it, referring to earlier discussions and incorporating Verner's list of states.⁷ Map 22 is in the fourth state, attributed to 1652, and is the second state in which Virginia Ferrar's name is substituted for John's and the Drake portrait added. The cartographic information in the map was first seriously discussed by Lawrence C. Wroth.⁸ Earlier writers had been inclined to dismiss its geographical content; one geographer even felt that it was "hardly worth while to discuss in detail a map on which the Hudson empties into the sea in the same latitude as the head of the Chesapeake and rises in 'A Mighty great Lake' which empties into the

4. The poem is on leaf A7r of [Samuel Hartlib], *Glory be to God on high*, printed in London for Richard Wodenoth (probably a relative of the Ferrars) in 1652, in the second issue, which contains seven added pages. A copy of this issue is in the Henry E. Huntington Library. The first issue is Wing H-988. For background on the Ferrars' community at Little Gidding, see Bernard Blackstone, ed., *The Ferrar Papers: Containing a Life of Nicholas Ferrar* (Cambridge, 1938).

5. CSP/AWI, 7 June 1669, no. 71, records the receipt of the king's acknowledgment.

6. John Lederer, *The Discoveries of John Lederer*, ed. W. P. Cumming (Charlottesville, 1958), contains the text of Lederer's book of 1672 as well as extensive information on the man, his journeys, and their influence on the cartography of the interior.

7. Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 47. A reduced reproduction of this copy of the map appears as pl. 29.

8. John Carter Brown Library, *Report* (1950), pp. 21-24.

9. E. B. Mathews, *Maps and Mapmakers of Maryland*, Maryland Geological Survey, Special Publication 2, Part 3 b (Baltimore, 1898), p. 364.

10. Lederer's discoveries are also referred to in the commentaries on Maps 3 and 5.

'Sea of China and the Indies.'"⁹ It must be remembered, however, that in the mid-seventeenth century the geography of the interior of the continent was still necessarily hypothetical. This map and its manuscript version were apparently the only cartographic work to originate in the Ferrars' community at Little Gidding, where emphasis was laid on religious fervor, simple living, handicrafts, and literary endeavor. It is to be expected that their map would depend heavily on literary sources. Further study of these sources would certainly throw additional light on the map's significance, not as a record of exploration, but as an encouragement to it and, apparently, an influence on its direction in the years before the discoveries of John Lederer began to provide Virginians and others with some firsthand knowledge of the interior of the country.¹⁰

Map 23

To The Right Honorable Will. Earle of Craven, Pallatine and the rest of ye true and absolute Lords and Proprietors, of the Province of Carolina. This Map is humbly Dedicated By Ioel Gascoyne. A New Map of the Country of Carolina. With it's Rivers, Harbors, Plantations, and other accomodations. don from the latest Surveighs and best Informations, by order of the Lords Proprietors. Sold by Ioel Gascoyne at the Signe of the Plat nere Wapping old Stayres. And by Robert Greene at the Rose and Crowne in ye middle of Budge Row. London. [1682-83]

Engraved, 49 x 59.4 cm. Watermark similar to Heawood 3020; also to Heawood, "Papers Used in England after 1600: Part II," *Library*, 4th ser., 11, no. 4 (March 1931): 484 and fig. 170

1. *Southeast*, no. 92 and pp. 34-36.

The Gascoyne map of Carolina is not included in the manuscript list of maps made when the atlas was originally put together, and it was apparently inserted later. How much later is not known, but there is no reason to suppose any long period of time was involved if, as suggested in the Introduction, the atlas was made up about 1683.

The map is discussed comprehensively by Cumming.¹ Since the publication in 1962 of the revised edition of *The Southeast in Early Maps*, three states of the map have been differentiated:

1. Two lines in the lower part of the cartouche above the word "London," began with "And by" and evidently gave the name and address of a third mapseller. Erasure of these lines is apparent in all recorded copies of later states—No copy known
2. Two lines have been erased (see state 1). Some of the characteristics that differentiate this state from state 3 are: the lake near "Westoh" is long and narrow and lies southwest to northeast; at the head of the Ashley River

2. When he visited the John Carter Brown Library in May 1969, Professor Cumming compared Map 23 with a photostat of the British Museum copy of state 2 and concluded that the differences in names in the inset provided no evidence as to the date of the revisions made for state 3.

3. *Term Catalogues*, 2: 513. The wording of the title is slightly different, but there is nothing to suggest that it refers to a state not listed.

4. Wing A-3934.

5. William L. Saunders, ed., *Colonial Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1886), 1: 344.

6. There is evidence in later maps that more than one state of the map gained currency. For instance, the Thornton-Morden-Lea map of about 1685 (Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 104) shows characteristics of state 2, as does "Carolina" by Herman Moll, used in Oldmixon's *British Empire*, in 1708 (Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 148). On the other hand, the map used by John Lawson in *A New Voyage to Carolina* (London, 1709), listed by Cumming as no. 150, seems to have been state 3, and the Verelst manuscript of 1739 (Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 242) also shows characteristics of the later state. There is no way of knowing which may have been combined with the four-page piece, *A True Description of Carolina*, in a broadside publication, because no copy of the map and text as published together is known to survive.

is a legend, "Earle Shafsbury Signory call'd Wadwad malow"; in the inset, the peninsula between the Ashley and Cooper rivers is 6.4 centimeters wide at the upper margin. There is no watermark in the paper of the only known impression—British Museum, 71965 (3)

3. Extensive geographical changes have been made in several sections. The distinguishing characteristics mentioned for state 2 have been modified so that: the lake near "Westoh" (the village has been relocated further up the river) is relocated and runs north and south, the lines of its former outline being imperfectly erased; in the legend near the Ashley River, the two words "Wadwad malow" are erased; in the inset, the redrawn peninsula between the Ashley and Cooper rivers is 2.7 centimeters wide at the upper margin.

Other changes in state 3 are too numerous to describe in detail, but they occur only in the following areas: the lower course of the River May (the Savannah), which has been moved farther south; "The Apalatian Mountaines," which are entirely reengraved, being moved nearer to the settlements; the upper courses of the Edisto, Cooper, and Santee rivers, which have been revised, necessitating relocation of various names—Library of Congress; University of South Carolina Library, Kendall Collection; Yale University Library; John Carter Brown Library (2 copies)

The Blathwayt Atlas copy, like most of the surviving examples, is of the third state. The dates of the three states cannot be exactly determined from the several contemporary references to the publication of the map.² It was advertised as a separate in November 1682.³ In Thomas Ashe's *Carolina; or a Description of the Present state of that Country* (London, 1682),⁴ it is mentioned in the address to the reader: "there is by Order of the Lords Proprietors newly published in one large Sheet of Paper, a very spacious Map of Carolina, with its Rivers, Harbors, Plantations, and other Accommodations, from the latest Survey, and best Informations, with a large and particular Description of the Entrances into Ashley and Cooper Rivers; this Map to be sold for 1 s. by Joel Gas-

coyne, near Wapping Old Stairs, and Robert Green in Budge Row, London, 1682." The imprint may refer to either state 2 or state 3. A third reference is in a memorandum by Samuel Wilson, who had been secretary to the Carolina proprietors, of his disbursements on their behalf (made at unspecified times), submitted on 10 May 1683 and listing two payments: "For a Plate of ye Map of Carolina & printing 2000 £2.3" and "To Pd Mr. Gascoyne for the Map of Carolina £11."⁵ It is possible that the edition of 2,000 copies—a rather large number—included impressions in all three states and that the changes were made in the course of printing. There may have been no significant lapse of time separating their appearance.⁶

The source of the information that prompted the revisions made in state 3 must also remain conjectural. It should be noted, however, that the revisions in the main map are almost all in areas that would have been familiar to Dr. Henry Woodward, the interpreter, explorer, and fur trader who acted as an agent for the earl of Shaftesbury. He had provided the earl with firsthand information on the interior of Carolina in his report of a journey to the village of the Westo Indians in 1674.⁷ There is no record that he made a map based on this journey or any of his other travels, and he seems to have relied entirely on verbal or written reports. Governor Sayle once said of him, "By constant travelling and enquiry amongst the natives, who are greatly affected towards him, he is able to give a more exact account of the discovery of several places and rivers than ever they heard before."⁸

Cumming, in speaking of state 3 of the Gascoyne map, says, "If Dr. Henry Woodward's knowledge of the interior had been drawn on more heavily for the map, the location of Indian tribes of the Southeast during the seventeenth century, before the wars and migrations caused by the trade rivalries of the white man, would not be such an enigma now."⁹ Comparison of states 2 and 3 of the Gascoyne map seems to indicate an attempt, only partially successful, to improve the delineation of the country Woodward knew best. For instance, the change in the course of the Edisto River brings it nearer to the location indicated in his narrative. The Appalachian Mountains, which he said he could see from near the village of the Westos, have been moved closer, making

7. "A faithful relation of my Westoe voyage begun from ye head of Ashley River the tenth of Octr & finished ye sixth of Noubr following," dated 31 December 1674, in the Shaftesbury Papers. It is summarized in CSP/AWI, 31 December 1674, no. 1422, and was printed in full in Alexander S. Salley, Jr., ed., *Narratives of Early Carolina 1650-1708* (New York, 1911), pp. 130-34, and also in the *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society*, 5 (1897): 456-62. Information on Woodward's career is in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. See also Verner Crane, *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732* (Durham, N.C., 1928), chaps. 1 and 2, and Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land* (Berkeley, 1925), *passim*.

8. CSP/AWI, 12 September 1670, no. 256.

9. *Southeast*, p. 36.

10. CSP/AWI, 10 May 1682, no. 499.

11. The new location of the Westo village on state 3, especially, suggests a connection with Woodward, who had close relations with the tribe. It is said that the Westoes often changed the location of their settlement (see Thomas Newe to his father, 17 May 1682, in Salley, *Narratives of Early Carolina*, p. 182).

the statement more credible. The lake near the Westo town, which he knew of only by hearsay from the Indians, has been moved so that it is farther from the route he would have traveled in going from Charleston to the Indian town.

In 1682, the year in which the map was advertised, Woodward journeyed to London after an absence of eighteen years. There had been war between the colonists and the Westoes, and he had been charged with inciting the Indians to attack the outlying plantations. He made a successful defense of his conduct before Shaftesbury and the other proprietors, and received a commission for further exploration of the interior of Carolina from the earl of Craven, to whom the map is dedicated.¹⁰ While Woodward was in London, he could have taken advantage of the opportunity to instigate improvements in the map, perhaps making verbal suggestions that were not completely understood.¹¹

The rather extensive changes made for state 3 in the inset of the Charleston area (originally based on a survey by Maurice Mathews) show considerable progress in the direction of accuracy in the delineation of the shorelines. The changes necessitated the erasing and reengraving of many of the names on the right half of the inset. A very few names were added, but no changes were made in the list of names inset at the right of the main map. Here again Dr. Henry Woodward, who had been a resident of the area since its earliest settlement, could have been responsible for the revisions, by giving verbal instructions or supplying rough sketches.

Map 24

A Mapp or Description of Sommer Islands Somtime called Bermudas Lying in the West Indies in the Northerly Latitude of thirty two degrees & twenty minutes & differing in Longitude from the Citty of London near 64 Deg: being distant by Sea Reckonings from Cape Hattoraske in South Virginia (being the nearest knowne land) foure hundred and twenty myles towards the East South East halfe a point Easterly These Islands ware Surueighed & thus described by Mr: Richard Norwood in the yeare 1663 the numbers in this Mapp have refference the (then present) Owners & Tenants & of the Publique land & exprest in a book of surveigh of ye said Country &c. Thomas Clarke Fecit August 1678

Manuscript, on paper, in ink and colors, 53.7 x 108.2 cm

Map 24 is signed and dated August 1678 by the copyist Thomas Clarke. His name has not been found on any other map, manuscript or printed, and this map is therefore the only evidence for including him as one of the Thames school map makers (see Introduction). There were three members of the Drapers' Company named Thomas Clark or Clarke whose dates of apprenticeship indicate that they could have been working in 1678, but there is no evidence to connect any of them with mapmaking.¹ A good many other men named Thomas Clarke lived in London about that time; in 1663 a Thomas Clarke owned a share of land, occupied by a tenant, in Devonshire Tribe (parish), Bermuda;² and the same name occurs also in New York, Carolina, and other colonies. There is nothing to show that any of these men made or copied maps, and the identification of the copyist of Map 24 must await the discovery of positive evidence.

The Plantations Office accounts contain an item for September 1679, "For a Map of Bermudas, Two Maps of the Port of Boston in New England, a Map of Carolina, Long Island and parts adjacent." The cost of the five maps was £4 6s., indicating that they were manuscripts rather than the less expensive printed productions.³ It is reasonable to sup-

1. Percival Boyd, *Roll of the Drapers' Company* (Croydon, 1934).

2. J. H. Lefroy, *Memorials of the Discovery and Early Settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands 1515-1685*, 2 vols. (London, 1877-79), 2: 677.

3. Add. Ms. 9767. Map 14 (Long Island) is probably also recorded in this entry.

4. CSP/AWI, 15 July 1679, no. 1061, answer no. 10.

5. Leo Francis Stock, ed., *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America* (Washington, 1924), 1:410-12.

6. CSP/AWI, 16 May 1679, no. 999; 4 July 1679, no. 1049; 5 July 1679, no. 1051-52. Cf. Richard S. Dunn, "The Downfall of the Bermuda Company: A Restoration Farce," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 20, no. 4 (October 1963): 487-512.

7. There are two early English manuscript maps of Bermuda that may have been copied before 1618 and were apparently derived from a map known to have been made by Sir George Somers in 1609. Their content is roughly similar, and both have as part of their decoration the arms of the Harrington family. One is in the British Museum (Harleian Roll. E.E.16.). The other, formerly in the Dartmouth Collection, was bought at auction at Sotheby's in London, 9 March 1948 (lot 452) for the Bermuda Historical Monuments Trust (Terry Tucker, "Bermuda's Latest Treasure," *Bermuda Historical Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1948: 165-69). These manuscripts show coastal outlines, with some indication of shoals but no soundings, and contain a limited number of coastal names. Although the copying may have been contemporary with Norwood's first survey, they are not connected with it and do not represent any

pose that the "Map of Bermudas" was Map 24. That payment was made more than a year after the completion of the map should surprise no one familiar with the financial arrangements for governmental expenditures in the 1670s.

Bermuda was one of the proprietary colonies, under the rigid control of the Somers Islands Company, and the Lords of Trade and Plantations had comparatively little to do with its affairs until 1679, when petitions to the king, which expressed the colonists' grievances against the company, were referred to the lords for consideration. These petitions started a train of events that led, in 1684, to the revocation of the company's charter and Bermuda's transition to a royal colony.

In 1676 the Lords of Trade had sent to the company one of its circular letters containing "heads of inquiry" regularly addressed to colonial governors, but no reply was received at the time. Three years later, after considerable prodding, the company submitted replies to the questions, volunteering as little information as possible. It is most unlikely that the company sent any map along with its answers to the committee's queries: in a reply to one query, the company gave the latitude and longitude of the colony in a form quite different from Norwood's statement of them.⁴ It seems more likely that Map 24 came to the Plantations Office through the interest of Sir Robert Southwell. In March 1677 a petition of the Bermudians against the trading policies of the company had been submitted to the House of Commons, and Southwell was one of the fifty-nine members of a committee appointed to conduct hearings on the matter and make a report.⁵ Although this committee apparently never reported, and no action was taken, it may have provided an opportunity for Southwell to become familiar with the affairs of Bermuda and perhaps to learn of the existence of a fairly up-to-date map of the island in the company's possession. He could hardly have failed to know of Norwood's earlier map, which had been widely published many years before. After 1679, when payment for Map 24 was recorded in the accounts of the Lords of Trade, there would have been numerous occasions for Southwell, Blathwayt, and the committee to refer to it in connection with the steps leading toward the revocation of the charter of the Somers Islands Company.⁶

Richard Norwood and the First Survey

The Bermuda Islands, first settled in 1612, were the earliest English colony to be completely surveyed and mapped.⁷ The small land area—only about twenty square miles—made a complete survey feasible, and the comparatively rapid growth of the population in the early years of settlement rendered it necessary. It happened that the job of surveying and mapping the islands fell into the capable hands of Richard Norwood, who was to become well known in his day as the author of popular books on mathematics, navigation, and fortification. He was a correspondent, though not a member, of the Royal Society, and he is best remembered for pioneering in the measurement of a degree of latitude on the ground.

The story of Norwood's survey of Bermuda can be reconstructed from statements in his *Journal*, and references in a few other contemporary sources.⁸ The first governor, sent out with colonists in 1612 by a group of "adventurers," members of the Virginia Company, had no instructions concerning any survey of the islands, but in 1613 the company sent out a Mr. Berkeley (sometimes called Bartlett, possibly the George Berkeley who was one of the original shareholders), a "miscaryed merchant, employed by the aduenturers to suruaye the ilands, and to prie into the governours actions."⁹ The governor, Richard Moore, was suspicious of Berkeley, who remained in Bermuda only five weeks. Apparently nothing was done about a survey at that time, but Berkeley returned in the following year "with an especiall charge to the gouernour to cause the ilands to be layd out into tribes and shares . . . and so to haue the people planted vpon them accordingly, the which worck he was to be an eye-witnesse of, and by all meanes possible a setter-forward."¹⁰

In the meantime Richard Norwood, twenty-three years old and already experienced in navigation and the teaching of mathematics, had arrived in the colony. He made an agreement with Berkeley to do the survey, and one Charles Caldecott, Norwood says, "was willing to join with me in the business, and so between us we surveyed the whole."¹¹ They began near the town of Saint George, and, although they were interrupted, the work was completed before Governor

attempt at a land survey.

8. Richard Norwood, *The Journal of Richard Norwood, Surveyor of Bermuda, with Introductions by Wesley Frank Craven and Walter B. Hayward* (New York, 1945); Lefroy, *Memorials*; [Nathaniel Butler], *The Historie of the Bermudaes*, The Hakluyt Society, 1st ser., no. 65 (London, 1882); John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624), pp. 169–201. No satisfactory biography of Norwood exists, although he is one of the few early men of science in North America who left an appreciable body of personal records. The history of Bermuda up to 1684 is covered by Dr. Henry Wilkinson in *The Adventurers of Bermuda* (London, 1933), and Wesley Frank Craven, *An Introduction to the History of Bermuda* [Williamsburg, 1938].

9. Butler, *Historie*, p. 29.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

11. Norwood, *Journal*, p. 53. Charles Caldecott, who had apparently gone to Bermuda with Berkeley, was one of the six men left to administer the island when Governor Moore left in 1615. Three of them, including Caldecott, sailed off to the West Indies on an unsuccessful piratical expedition, and he is not known to have returned to Bermuda.

12. Lefroy, *Memorials*,
I: 108.

13. Margaret Palmer,
*The Printed Maps of
Bermuda*, Map Collectors'
Circle, no. 19 (1965), no. 1.
The views of Saint
George's and the forts
cannot be Norwood's
because they represent a
situation later than his
departure from the
islands.

14. *Journal*, p. 58.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

Moore left for England in 1615. Probably Moore carried home to the company the results of the surveyors' work. Certainly before sending out Daniel Tucker as the next governor, the company had in hand a map of the islands with particulars of the division into tribes, or parishes. Tucker's commission, dated 15 February 1616, contained a paragraph to the effect that, because the tribes were already divided, he was to take charge of surveying the individual shares, and he was given "mapps and . . . noats of dividents" to serve as the basis.¹² Norwood's earliest map of the islands, of which no manuscript survives, apparently showed only the division into tribes. This must have been the map used by Captain John Smith as the central part of an engraved plate illustrating the section on Bermuda in his *Generall Historie* in 1624.¹³

Norwood says that Tucker, who arrived in the islands about the middle of May, asked him to undertake the survey, but "I stood off and refused some two or three months because I was not paid for the survey of the country, for which we should have had 2d. the acre by agreement with Mr. Berkeley. At length I concluded with him for two pounds of tobacco or 5d. the share to do it."¹⁴ Starting with Hamilton Tribe about the end of August or the beginning of September, Norwood finished the work in April 1617. His journal dwells at some length on his religious conversion, which occurred while he was surveying Smith's Tribe. Much of his time thereafter was spent in reading the Bible and singing psalms with the local inhabitants, but, he explained, this was not "any sensible hindrance to my calling and employment in surveying . . . for I spent it may be about two hours in the morning, during which time breakfast was made ready and the men came together that were to go with me that day. And so at night. We could not have gone another turn if we had continued longer, for we came not home to dinner at all. But it fitted very well to every man's occasions."¹⁵ From this we know that he was in full charge of the survey and that several men, local residents, were recruited to assist him.

A few weeks after completing the detailed survey of the shares of land Norwood sailed for England, not to return to

the islands for another twenty years. The manuscript of his detailed map and the "Book of Survey," which was delivered to the company, do not survive, but a few years later the map was printed, with lists of shareholders for the various tribes revised as of 1622. It was probably some form of this map that was entered for publication by Nathaniel Newbury in the Stationers' Register on 19 January 1622, but no copy survives with his name on it. The earliest form now known, engraved by Abraham Goos of Amsterdam, carries the date 1626 and the name of the bookseller George Humble, who used it in his editions of John Speed's atlas beginning in 1627. The map was copied by several Dutch atlas publishers and continued to appear in various forms over a long period of years. It became one of the best-known maps of any part of America in the seventeenth century.¹⁶

16. Ibid., pp. lix-lx, contains a note on Norwood's printed map and a list of his published writings by the late William A. Jackson. A number of forms of the map are described in Palmer, *Printed Maps*.

17. A manuscript survey of 1635 by Norwood is listed in *Maps and Plans in the Public Record Office* (London, 1967), 1, no. 3466-67. See also the introduction to his *Journal*, pp. lxi-lxiv.

Norwood's Second Survey

By 1637, when Norwood returned to Bermuda, he was a well-established teacher of mathematics in London as well as a practicing surveyor, and two of his books had been published.¹⁷ He sought from the Bermuda Company the position of schoolmaster in the islands, fearing he might be in personal danger for reasons connected with the religious and political unrest in England. As it turned out, he was to remain in Bermuda through the Commonwealth period and after the Restoration until his death in 1675.

After he had been in the islands for a few years, he wrote to the company, suggesting a new survey and map: "It is almost thirty yeares since I surveyed this country and laid out the shares here which hath so remayned to this present. But some part of the lines almost in all the shares in the country are cutt away, and these have need to be new marked. Also here were some things done by others, during that 20 yeares I was in England, where some grosse errors have been committed. I have also heard you desire to have a note of those which are Adventurers at present, and their shares. If you please to give

18. Lefroy, *Memorials*, 2: 599.

19. *Ibid.*, 2: 129. Some historians of Bermuda have mistakenly supposed the "model" meant a plaster model. In the seventeenth century *platform* was generally used to refer to an outline map or plan, and *model* was sometimes used to refer to the detail. To illustrate the distinction the *Oxford English Dictionary* quotes Bacon: "I haue made a Platforme of a Princely Garden, Partly by Precept, Partly by Drawing, not a Modell, but some generall Lines of it."

20. *Ibid.*, 2: 156. On pp. 128–29 is the record of a court of assizes held at Saint George in November 1659: "Mr. Richard Norwood's censure, that he shall stand upon the Pillory, and be burned through the tongue with an hot iron, and to practice no more in this Island." This sentence has not been mentioned in any of the published sketches of Norwood's life. It was undoubtedly connected with the intense religious-political strife going on at the time even in Bermuda. Whether or not the sentence was carried out, it certainly provides a possible clue to a reason for the delay in making the survey.

21. *Ibid.*, 2: 229, 282, and 422 ff.

order, I shall survey all rectifying and perfecting what is amisse or defective, and send you a plott of all, as I shall now find it."¹⁸

The company did not respond to Norwood's suggestion at that time, and nothing was done until 1659, when instructions were finally given for a new survey, and it was specified that Norwood was to carry out the work. The company wrote the governor and his council, requiring them "to be assistant unto Mr. Richard Norwood in transmitting unto this Company (and he is hereby required to transmit unto them) a Platform and Model of the whole Islands of Bermudas, and all the lands thereunto belonging, as the same are now divided into distinct Tribes, and subdivided into particular shares, with the names of the owners of every share, distinguishing therein what are the Publick lands, in what tribe they lie, the number of the shares, and who are the present Tenants and occupier thereof. And that the said Platform be made and returned unto this Company with that convenient speed a business of that nature may be performed." Norwood was to be paid "for his skill and pains to be taken therein, as the quality thereof shall equally deserve."¹⁹

There was a delay in performing the survey, and on 30 August 1661 the company again wrote to Governor William Sayle, reproving him for his neglect of their commands, renewing the order, and requiring further "that there be inserted the Scituacion of all the several fforts with the lands thereunto belonging, and as soone as it is finished that you transmitt it to vs by the first Conueniency."²⁰ The survey was started in 1663 and was received by the company before 5 March 1665, on which date they asked the governor "to return unto Mr Norwood our thanks for his great pains and care in the new Map and Model and Book of Survey of the Islands by him drawn and transmitted unto us." They promised to consider them and give him his "reward" as soon as they were able. Four years later he was awarded fifty pounds for "his paynes & care," to be paid to him or his agent. The payment had not been made when he drew up his will in 1674, and he made some legacies conditional upon it.²¹

Manuscript Maps from Norwood's Second Survey

Norwood kept one copy of the manuscript based on the survey begun in 1663 and sent another to the company in London. No mention of the latter, the official copy, has been found except the record of its receipt in England. If a third copy was made for the governor, nothing is known of it. Perhaps none was considered necessary because Norwood's own copy was available in Bermuda for reference. In the inventory of his estate "The Mape of ye Survay of Bermoodas" is listed among items kept in the schoolhouse. For reasons known only to the appraisers of his estate, the value was stated to be £2 10s.²² The later history of this copy, which is now in the Bermuda Archives Office, badly faded, rubbed, and otherwise damaged, was reconstructed in the nineteenth century by General Lefroy. According to him, it remained in the hands of Norwood's descendants until 1739, when Governor Alured Popple purchased it and carried it to England. While it was there, a fine colored copy on vellum was made by Gabriel Matthias, which is now in the Public Record Office.²³ Although the copyist stated that Popple "transmitted" the original (Norwood's copy) to the Board of Trade, it must have been returned to him, because it was purchased from his widow on behalf of a Bermudian and again crossed the ocean. After passing through several hands, it was finally purchased in 1873 by the government of Bermuda.²⁴ Map 24, copied by Thomas Clarke in August 1678, must have been taken from the other original manuscript, which Norwood sent to the company in London, and it is therefore the only evidence available as to the characteristics of the lost official copy.

Unlike Norwood's earlier map of the islands, his second survey, begun in 1663, never found its way into print. The greatly reduced illustration in Lefroy's *Memorials*, which first brought it to the attention of historians, was made in 1879 from a copy of the Gabriel Matthias manuscript. In the same publication the text of the "Book of the Survey," Norwood's listing of the owners and tenants of all the shares of land in 1663, appeared for the first time in print.

Two extensive manuscript maps made at approximately

22. Norwood, *Journal*, p. 141.

23. C.O.700. Bermuda no. 3 (formerly MR 770).

24. Lefroy, *Memorials*, 1: xx-xxv; 2: 645 ff.

25. These photographs were kindly sent by Commander H. G. Middleton of the Bermuda Archives Office.

26. Consultation with Augustus P. Loring, of Boston, has established that the bearing on Map 24 is approximately correct.

the same time by the same person normally show some differences. A comparison of Map 24 with Norwood's holograph map in the Bermuda Archives Office would therefore be desirable, even though there is no certainty as to how closely Thomas Clarke followed Norwood's other original. Unfortunately it has been possible to compare Map 24 only with photographs (made under difficult conditions) of certain parts of the Bermuda Archives map not too severely damaged by time and circumstances.²⁵ From this limited comparison, however, it is evident that there are at least two place names on Norwood's manuscript that do not appear on Map 24, while there are nine that appear on Map 24 but are not present on the Bermuda map. The bar scale on Map 24 is for three miles, or 960 poles, while on Norwood's manuscript it is for two miles, or 640 poles. There are differences in the wording of the cartouche also, some of them slight, others more significant. In the Bermuda manuscript, the wording is:

A Mapp or Description of Sommer Islands sometimes Called Bermudas Lying in the West Indies In the northerly Latitude of thirty two degrees and twenty minutes and differing in Longitude from the City of London neare sixty foure degrees. Distant (by sea reckonings) from Cape Hattorask in South Virginia being the nearest knowne land Foure hundred and twenty miles towards the East south east halfe a point southerly. The numbers in the Mapp haue reference to the Names of the present Owners and Tenants in each Tribe and of the Publique land as they are expressed in the book of the Suruey of the Country herewith sent The Castle and fforts I haue delineated in the booke. The Soundings Channels, Rocks & shoulds or Ledges about these Islands I thought it not convenient to expresse especially hauing no such order from you the Hono:ble Company Yor Honors to be Commanded Richard Norwood: S:

In the compass bearing of Bermuda from Cape Hatteras, "East south east halfe a point southerly," the last word should be "easterly," as it is on Map 24.²⁶ It is surprising that this kind

of error should be found on a map in the hand of an experienced navigator. Presumably he did not make this mistake on the manuscript sent to the company, from which Map 24 was copied. Norwood may not have bothered to correct the word on his own copy because the compass bearing could have had no special significance in settling questions concerning shares of land in the islands. Apparently this was the chief use made of the copy that was kept locally.

Map 25

1. Koeman, *Atlantes*,
4: 197, Goos 1B, no. 36.

2. There is additional
evidence of tracing in the
reversal of the numeral
nine in some of the
soundings off the south
coast of Trinidad.

3. Koeman, *Atlantes*,
4: 158, Don 2, no. 16.

A Chart of the Caribe Islands By Iohn Seller Hydrographer to the King at the Hermitage stares in Wapping and in Exchange alley in Cornhill London [ca. 1675]

Engraved, colored, 42.7 x 54.5 cm. Watermark not visible. The map is pasted on a sheet of similar paper, in the manner often found in atlases published by Seller.

This chart, copies of which are usually found in Seller's *Atlas Maritimus*, first published in 1675, is derived from the very similar "Pascaert Vande Caribes Eylanden," which was first used in *De Zee Atlas Ofte Water-Weereld* by Pieter Goos (Amsterdam, 1666).¹ Seller copied not only outlines, but also the scale (although he placed a scale of English leagues above the Spanish and Dutch measures), the general design of the title cartouche, the wind roses, rhumb lines, and compass rose, as well as the decorative ships. The geographic outlines may have been copied by tracing, as is suggested by some blunting of their sharpness and occasional small omissions.²

Goos's chart, in its turn, had been copied from an untitled chart by Hendrick Doncker, dated 1658, and used in his *Zee-Atlas* of 1660 and its later editions.³ Goos's copy was extremely faithful. He omitted a small cartouche carrying Doncker's name and the date, and he added a title cartouche with his own name as well as two decorative ships. He added also the triple scale in the lower right corner and a few place names in the Virgin Islands, but he made no changes in the outlines.

Seller's map, however, although its outlines go back chiefly to the Doncker chart of 1658 as copied by Goos, does introduce some new material. The shapes of the islands of Saint Christopher, Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Barbados are entirely different from, if no more recent than, those of the Dutch original. The first three are based on French sources that go back to the maps of these islands in Jean-Baptiste Du

Tertre's *Histoire Générale, des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique* (Paris, 1654). Whether Seller used these maps, or the similar later versions in Du Tertre's *Histoire Générale des Antilles* (1667–71), or whether he had access to some manuscript charts closely related to them cannot be determined.⁴ For the English island of Barbados he must have used an English chart that was first printed in John Ogilby's *America* (London, 1671), or perhaps a manuscript version of it.⁵

The insertion of these radically different versions of the four islands in Seller's otherwise routine copy of a Dutch map is of some interest, however inept his methods may have been (for instance, Guadeloupe is noticeably out of scale). Seller's reputation was long ago determined by Samuel Pepys, who in an often quoted passage recorded his condemnation of the mapmaker for using old Dutch plates.⁶ The statement has sometimes been accepted uncritically as applying to all Seller's work, whereas it was actually directed against his *English Pilot*, which contained charts of England and nearby European coasts. It is apparent, however, that in the present case Seller attempted to improve on a Dutch map, using materials at his disposal that he considered more authoritative.

In this copy of the map Seller, or someone working for him, made an effort to differentiate by color the islands and mainland areas belonging to Spain, France, England, and Holland, using respectively yellow, blue, magenta, and green. The division of Saint Christopher between France and England is indicated by colors.

A second state of this map has a revised cartouche, carrying the imprint "By J. Seller, J. Colson, W. Fisher, and J. Atkinson, J. Thornton."⁷

4. See the commentary on Maps 27, 28, and 31.

5. See the commentary on Map 32.

6. Samuel Pepys, *The Tangier Papers of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Edwin Chappell, Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. 73 (Greenwich, England, 1935), p. 107.

7. Phillips, *Atlases*, 4150, no. 24. The reasons for the combined imprint are mentioned in the commentary on Map 4. A copy of the second state is also in the William L. Clements Library.

Map 26

1. Manuscript note by Coolie Verner, in the John Carter Brown Library.

2. In the fifth volume of his *Novus Atlas* (Koeman, *Atlantes*, 2: 493, Me 164, no. 651). It is listed by Johannes Keuning in "The Novus Atlas of Johannes Janssonius," *Imago Mundi* 8 (1951): 81, no. 821.

3. Koeman, *Atlantes*, 2: 384, Me 44, no. 455.

Les Isles Antilles &c. Entre lesquelles sont les Lucayes, et les Caribes. Par N Sanson d'Abbeville Geogr. ordre. du Roy. A Paris. Chez l'Autheur Auecq Privilege du Roy, pour vingt Ans 1656.

I. Somer Sculpsit

Engraved, 38.8 x 55 cm. Watermark, Heawood 673

Nicolas Sanson's map of the West Indies may have been part of the purchase of French maps by Blathwayt in 1678 (see commentary on Map 6). Its watermark is identical with one listed by Heawood as occurring in a Sanson atlas of about 1669 and is also the same as those of Maps 27, 28, and 31. An earlier state of the imprint reading "Chez pierre Mariette" and without a date is located in the British Museum and the William L. Clements Library.¹

A very close resemblance is apparent between this map and *Insularum Hispaniolae et Cubae Cum Insulis circumiacentibus accurata delineatio*, first used in an atlas by Joannes Janssonius in 1650.² For the area on Map 26 not covered by that Janssonius map—the Lesser Antilles—one would expect an equally close resemblance to the following map in the same atlas, *Insula S. Juan de Puertorico Caribes, vel Canibalum Insulae*. This is not the case, however. For this area there is greater resemblance to *Insulae Americanae in Oceano Septentrionali, cum Terris adiacentibus*, included in atlases published by Janssonius as early as 1636.³

At least one section of these maps—the Bahamas and the shoals among them—may be traced back to the map by Hessel Gerritsz, "De Groote ende Kleyne Eylanden van West-Indien" in Joannes de Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (Leiden, 1625).

Maps 27, 28, 31

27.

Carte de Lisle de Saint Christophle Scituée a 17 Degrez 30 Minutes de Lat. Septentrionale. A Paris chez Pierre Mariette, rue S. Iacques a l'Esperance. Avec Priuilege du Roy. A Peyrounin. sculp [ca. 1667]

Engraved, colored, 31 x 42.9 cm. Watermark, Heawood 673

1. British Museum, Maps 39.e.2. They are not in the 1667 Sanson atlas described in Phillips, *Atlases*, 5947, but are found in the contents (nos. 42-44) of the edition of 1670 that Phillips lists as no. 3436.

28.

L'Isle de la Martinique Scituée a 14 Degrez 30 Minutes de Latitude Septentrionale A Paris chez Pierre Mariette, rue S. Iacques a l'Esperance. Avec priuilege du Roy. A Peyrounin sculp. [Ca. 1667]

Engraved, colored, 31.8 x 43 cm. Watermark, Heawood 673

31.

Isle de la Guadeloupe Scituée a 16 Degrez de Lat. Septentrionale A Paris chez Pierre Mariette, rue S. Iacques a l'Esperance Avec priuilege du Roy A Peyrounin sculp. [Ca. 1667]

Engraved, colored, 31.3 x 43 cm. Watermark, Heawood 673

These three maps of French West Indian islands may have formed part of a purchase of French maps made by Blathwayt for the use of the Lords of Trade when he visited Paris in 1678 (see commentary on Map 6). They are all unsigned but bear the same engraver's name and have the same watermark, indicating that they were probably printed as a group at about the same time. All three were included in an atlas entitled *Cartes Générales de Toutes les Parties du Monde*, brought out in 1667,¹ and in some of its later editions. These atlases were published by Nicolas Sanson and his successors, but the Sanson name does not occur on these three maps, and his exact connection with them is not completely clear. They

2. Jacques de Dampierre, *Essai sur les Sources de l'Histoire des Antilles Françaises (1492-1664)* (Paris, 1904), pp. 100-125. Du Tertre visited the French islands in 1640-42 and 1643-47 and made a third voyage in 1655-56. Statements in early biographical works that he spent eighteen years in the West Indies are incorrect according to his own account.

3. Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, *Histoire Générale des Antilles*, 2: 5-6.

have a close relationship, however, to three similar maps that illustrated *Histoire Générale, des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique, et Autres dans l'Amerique*. Its author, Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, a Dominican priest, was a remarkable man who spent several years as a missionary in the newly settled French colonies and from his first arrival at Guadeloupe in 1640 observed and collected information on the natural history of the islands, their native inhabitants, and the European settlements.² The three maps illustrating his *Histoire Générale*, which was published in Paris in 1654, have the same titles as Maps 27, 28, and 31, and their geographical content is closely similar, although they are on a scale about 40 per cent smaller. Nowhere does Du Tertre say who made the maps he used, but it is not farfetched to suggest that he made them himself. Before joining the Dominican order he had followed the sea for a time, and he had also seen service in the army of the prince of Orange. In the course of this varied experience a well-educated and versatile man might well have found opportunity to acquire a basic knowledge of map making.

Du Tertre's later work, *Histoire Générale des Antilles Habitées par les François* (1667-71), is a massive four-volume enlargement of the 1654 book. It contains the same three maps of the French islands, printed from the same plates, with a few revisions, chiefly addition of place names. Referring to Saint Christopher he says that he had intended to draw a map ("tracer le plan") of the island as it was at the time of its first settlement by the French but decided that a map showing the improvements made by the settlers would give more pleasure to his readers.³ This statement is not inconsistent with the suggestion that he was his own map maker.

Maps 27, 28, and 31 do not contain the additions shown on the 1667 state of the Du Tertre plates. They do show a few differences of their own, chiefly of a minor character, but otherwise they reflect the information obtained by Du Tertre in his visits to the West Indies in the 1640s.

The island of Saint Christopher was from 1627, soon after the beginning of its settlement, divided between the English and French, the English holding the middle part and the

French settled at the eastern and western ends. Although this arrangement was workable in the early years of the colonies, it carried with it obvious possibilities for trouble. In the 1660s the two nations were at war, and when a French expedition overcame the English in April 1666, they drove out a large number of the planters. A resettlement program was necessary after the Treaty of Breda, in the following year, gave back to England its part of the island.⁴

Throughout the entire Restoration period the councils dealing with the colonies and later the Lords of Trade found the concerns of Saint Christopher frequently on their agenda. Four maps of the island were made and sent to London between 1671 and 1684, but none of these manuscripts is known to survive. Apparently one of them was included in the Blathwayt Atlas following Map 27 when the volume was put together. Its probable identity is discussed in the commentary on the manuscript list of maps. None of the four manuscripts ever found its way into the hands of a map publisher, and so, when Philip Lea published his *Principall Islands in America belonging to the English Empire*, about 1693, he had to use the content of Map 27, with some of its French legends translated into English.

4. A summary of the actions in the islands in this period is in Nellis M. Crouse, *The French Struggle for the West Indies, 1665-1713* (New York, 1943).

Map 29

This commentary has been extensively revised from J. D. Black, "The Blathwayt Atlas: Maps Used by British Colonial Administrators in the Time of Charles II," *Imago Mundi* 22 (1968): 20-29. Reduced facsimiles of the four identified states of the map are to be found there.

The Island of Tobago By John Seller. And are to be Sold at his Shop on the West side of the Royall Exchange And at the Hermitage in Wapping. To the Worshipful Hugh Chamberlen Doctor of Physick and One of his Majesties Physitians in Ordinary. This Map is Humbly Dedicated By John Seller.
[London, 1682-83]

Engraved, 43.3 x 51.3 cm. Watermark similar to Heawood 151

On Map 29 a part of the border of the dedication cartouche has been erased from the plate, and indications of extensive deletion are noticeable in the space above. The circumstances that led to the printing of a map in this rather unsightly condition become apparent if Map 29 is compared with other states of the same plate and if an investigation is made of their relationship to several printed pieces published in London in connection with a plan for settlement of the island, which came under the purview of the Lords of Trade and Plantations. (These publications are listed and described below, following the list of identified states of the map.)

The Courland Colonization Project

Tobago, southernmost of the Windward Islands and now politically joined with Trinidad as an independent commonwealth, was in the seventeenth century the scene of commercial rivalry and armed conflict among various European colonial powers. The Spaniards had early given up trying to settle it, and later attempts, none of them permanently successful, were made by English, Dutch, French, and Courlanders, although the activity of the French was directed chiefly toward the destruction of settlements begun by the

other colonial powers. Another destructive force the colonists had to contend with from time to time was the Arawak Indians from Trinidad and the South American mainland.

Map 29 is chiefly connected with the colonial efforts sponsored by James, duke of Courland (or Kurland), a remarkable man who ruled for nearly half a century his spacious domain on the Baltic Sea, which is now part of Soviet Latvia. At that time the duke was nominally subject to Poland. Courland is not well known to history as a colonial power, but in the seventeenth century the duke managed to carry on a surprising amount of overseas activity, much of it directed toward the African slave trade centering on the Gambia River region. He also began early to be interested in American settlement. He had close ties with England, being a godson of James I, who had settled a pension on his father. In 1640 the duke acquired a title to Tobago from the earl of Warwick and later founded a colony on its northwest side. For a time it flourished, but it later encountered various difficulties, some of which were caused by the Dutch, who had formed a settlement on the southeastern side of the island called New Flushing. In 1677 both these colonies were practically wiped out by a French expedition.

The duke of Courland, however, did not want to give up his project, even though his duchy had no surplus population. In order to provide colonists, therefore, he opened negotiations with a promoter in London, Captain John Poyntz. With his associates and financial backers, Poyntz received a grant of 120,000 acres in Tobago, boundaries unspecified, and he assumed the responsibility for recruiting and transporting settlers to reestablish the Courland colony. Poyntz had made voyages to the West Indies over a period of thirty years, and on a visit to Tobago he had been a guest of a Dutch colonist. The island had appealed so strongly to him that, in his words, "after having view'd them all, [I] have chosen this Island of Tobago to take up my Quietus est in."¹

Poyntz received his grant in September 1681, and sometime in the following year a broadside was published briefly extolling Tobago's possibilities. Apparently it was inspired by Poyntz, although it was signed by one of his associates, Captain John Lloyd. Preceding the text of the broadside is a

1. John Poyntz, *The Present Prospect* (London, 1683), p. [iv].

2. See J. H. Aveling, *The Chamberlens and the Midwifery Forceps: Memorials of the Family* (London, 1882). Hugh Chamberlen's royal patent is quoted on page 137. His publications on his scheme for a land bank are listed in Wing C-1869 and following. The land-bank idea is also prominent in Poyntz's publications concerning the Tobago colony.

3. *CSP/Domestic Series, Charles II, 1682*, pp. 546-47.

dedicatory letter that echoes the dedication of the map and begins, "To the Worshipful Hugh Chamberlen Doctor of Physick, and one of his Majesties Physitians in Ordinary, under Patent." Chamberlen's connection with this colonial project has not been mentioned by his biographers. Far from unknown, he was a member of the Royal Society and has a place in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, together with his father and several of his relatives. The Chamberlens, originally French Huguenots, had lived in England for three generations, and several members of the family engaged in the practice of medicine, some with and some without the approval of the London College of Physicians. They cherished as a family secret the design of a special kind of obstetrical forceps for which they made great claims, and some of the Chamberlens specialized in that branch of medicine with conspicuous financial success. Hugh Chamberlen had been appointed a royal physician in October 1673.²

A note at the end of the John Lloyd-John Poyntz broadside indicated that "These Descriptions with the Map of the said Island are sold by John Seller at his Shop on the West side of the Royal-Exchange." Seller first published the map with the dedication to Chamberlen beneath the doctor's coat of arms, elaborately engraved. In its earliest form the map is known only from a reproduction made in 1952, when a copy was in the hands of a London dealer. Its present location has not been traced. The plate was revised, probably very soon after its first printing, because, for one thing, the compass arrow pointed in the wrong direction. The second state shows the arrow pointing correctly and contains additional details.

In 1682 two events occurred that were to affect the promotional plans of Poyntz and his associates. In the summer the duke of Courland died and was succeeded by his son, who was less interested in colonial projects than his father had been. Then, on 17 November, Hugh Chamberlen was replaced as a royal physician by Robert Brady, professor of physics at Cambridge, who applied for the post saying he had been "informed that his Majesty has resolved not to admit the said Dr. Chamberlen to a place so near his person."³ The king's displeasure was the result of the doctor's politics,

which were later to involve him in the duke of Monmouth's rebellion and the Rye House Plot. A few months after Chamberlen's eclipse, during the first half of 1683, Poyntz brought out another broadside giving details of his plans as well as a little book of forty-six pages, *The Present Prospect of the Famous and Fertile Island of Tobago*. Chamberlen's name does not appear in either of these publications, and a "new" map of the island is advertised at the end of the book. What is new about the map is that the conspicuous dedication to Chamberlen has been removed. To insure that the project would not be associated with a person out of favor with the king, Seller had to change the plate, scratching out Chamberlen's arms and the dedication, before the book was published in the spring of 1683. In the middle of the deletion process a proof was pulled, and somehow this proof, Map 29, came into the hands of Blathwayt and the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who were well aware of the Tobago project and were strongly opposed to it.⁴ This copy of the map could have been obtained by Blathwayt from Poyntz or one of his associates, but it is also possible that he got it directly from Seller, who is known to have had earlier business dealings with the Plantations Office. When Seller completed the revision, he had removed the remains of the dedication cartouche, cleaned the plate carefully, and extended lines from the compass rose over the empty space, as if the dedication to Chamberlen had never existed. The result (state 4) was so neat that without the proof state that has survived in the Blathwayt Atlas it would be natural to assume that the unornamented form of the map was earlier than the examples containing the dedication cartouche. In fact, the only previous bibliographical list to include more than one state of the map places them in that order.⁵

Poyntz's efforts to send a colony to Tobago were to end in failure. Even before the publication of his book the Lords of Trade received a letter from the governor of Jamaica, Sir Thomas Lynch, warning of the prospect of a new Courland colony on the island. Every new colony of a foreign power, he wrote, "is a prejudice to the King, and his subjects settled there are lost. Tobago is but forty-five leagues south-west of Barbadoes, and if a little settled and secured it will be suffi-

4. CSP/AWI, index entries under *Tobago* in volume for 1681-85.

5. *Some Early Printed Maps of Trinidad and Tobago*, Map Collectors' Circle no. 10 (1964), nos. 31-32.

6. CSP/AWI, Sir Thomas Lynch to the Lords of Trade, 29 August 1682, no. 668.

7. Ibid., 18 January 1683, no. 895.

8. John Aubrey, *Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (Ann Arbor, [1957]), p. lxxv.

9. Courland's efforts at colonization have been treated from the Continental point of view in Edgar Anderson, "Die kurlandische Kolonie Tobago," *Baltische Hefte* 8 (1961): 129-55, 216-32, and in Otto H. Mattiesen, *Die Kolonial und Überseepolitik der kurlandischen Herzöge im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1940). These sources give only cursory treatment to the English projects and their sponsors. Background material with numerous references may be found in Cornelis Ch. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean . . . 1580-1680* (Gainesville, Fla., 1971), chap. 17.

ciently supplied by the Dutch, who can sell European goods thirty per cent cheaper than we and will pay dearer for American Goods."⁶ The Lords of Trade were inclined to listen carefully to the governor of a thriving and profitable colony, and the journal entry for their first meeting after the receipt of Lynch's letter reads, "The State of Tobago to be considered, and some reasons found for vacating the Duke of Courland's pretentions thereto."⁷

Poyntz's colonists began to organize in the spring of 1683, and a ship, the *Fountain*, was engaged to transport them. They petitioned the king for instructions as to what flag they should fly, and the question was referred to the Lords of Trade. There was no direct reply, but orders were sent to stop the ship from sailing, and at the same time Poyntz and the duke of Courland's agent were summoned before the committee to justify their actions and defend the duke's rather questionable claim to the island. They had to promise to go no further in the matter until a complete investigation had been made. The captain of the *Fountain* was finally allowed to sail to Barbados on condition that he carry no passengers destined for Tobago, and the Lords of Trade instructed Sir Richard Dutton, the governor of Barbados, to do everything he could to discourage any Courland settlement there.

Captain Poyntz must have been a man of great determination, for his initial failure did not discourage him from making further attempts to found a colony in Tobago. In 1686 he gave John Aubrey, the biographer, a thousand acres on the island, and advised him to get subscribers to share the grant and "send over people to plant."⁸ In 1695, with William of Orange on the throne, a revived project for settling Tobago led Poyntz to reissue his book (without any reference to a map) and also two single-sheet advertising flyers (see list below). The promotional pieces connected with the 1695 project mention 40,000 acres instead of the 120,000 of the earlier grant, of 1681. In the intervening years it must have been discovered that the entire island contained less than 75,000 acres.

The complete story of the duke of Courland's efforts to colonize Tobago through English promoters and sponsors has not yet been written.⁹ In the attempt to solve the puzzle

of the partially erased dedication on Map 29 some of the materials for such a study have been brought together for the first time.

Sources of the Map

The outlines of Map 29 are in some ways similar to those of a much smaller map of Tobago that was used as an inset on an impressive illustrated broadside describing the successful French attack on Tobago in 1677, published in Amsterdam and dedicated to the Dutch Admiralty by Romein de Hooghe.¹⁰ Another similar small map, which differs in numerous details of coastline as well as names, is found as an illustration in volume 28 of *De Hollantse Mercurius* (Haarlem, 1678). Seller's map was not copied from either of these engravings, but all three probably derived from the same original. The source of these maps and of other seventeenth-century delineations of Tobago may have been the map mentioned by Charles de Rochefort in *Le Tableau de l'Isle de Tabago, ou de la Nouvelle Oüalchre* (Leiden, 1665). There is no map illustrating this book, but the author says that his description of the island and its settlements follows exactly "le plan, qui en a esté envoyé depuis peu à Messieurs Lampsins."¹¹ This was apparently a large manuscript on the wall in the offices of the Lampsins brothers, who had sponsored Dutch settlements in the island. Rochefort speaks of it as having been drawn on the spot with great exactness and completeness, including the fortifications and the town that had been begun. Rochefort's description of the settled areas, which he based on the map, is extensive, suggesting that the original was a remarkable production. Because it has not survived, however, it is impossible to be sure that it was the source of the smaller and less detailed maps of Tobago in the years following 1665.¹²

10. *Afbeeldinge der heete rescontre te Water en te Lant op het Eylandt Tabago, Tusschen den Fransen Admiraal d'Estrée, en den Heer Commandeur Binckes.* (W. P. C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-Verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* [The Hague, 1889-1916], no. 11,497; also *Some Early Printed Maps*, no. 29.) Copies are in the New York Public Library and the John Carter Brown Library.

11. P. 80.

12. There are several surviving manuscript versions of a bird's-eye view of the Lampsinses' town of Nieuw Vlissinghe recorded by F. C. Wieder in *Monumenta Cartographica* (The Hague, 1925-33), 4: 135, no. 52. The original of this, although attributed to a later period, may have had some connection with the "plan" described by Rochefort.

States of the Map

(A preliminary state may exist with some other name than "Stetin Bay" because an erasure is evident in all copies examined.)

1. After September 1681, probably 1682—With the arms of Hugh Chamberlen above the dedication and the compass arrow incorrectly pointing forty-five degrees to the left of perpendicular—Location not known. Reproduction in R. V. Tooley, *Maps and Map-makers* (2d ed., London, 1952), plate 86, inadvertently captioned as in the British Museum but probably the copy listed by Francis Edwards (catalogue 711, 1951, no. 3672). Reduced facsimile in *Imago Mundi* 22 (1968): 25
2. Probably 1682—With the arms and dedication the same, but with the compass arrow corrected to point forty-five degrees to the right of perpendicular. Numerous small additions and changes, including addition of anchorages, rocks, and shoals. (These changes are reflected in the greatly reduced version of the map in Seller's octavo *Atlas Maritimus*, with title page dated 1682. Inclusion of this map in editions of the atlas with earlier title pages must be the result of later insertion.)—British Museum, Maps 82510(4). Reduced facsimile in *Imago Mundi* 22 (1968): 26
3. After November 1682, when Chamberlen was removed from his post as royal physician, but before June 1683, when the map was advertised in *The Present Prospect of Tobago* (see list below, no. 4)—With Chamberlen's arms roughly deleted as well as a small part of the dedication cartouche. A proof made in the course of revision of the plate—John Carter Brown Library, Blathwayt Map 29. Reduced facsimile in *Imago Mundi* 22 (1968): 23
4. After state 3, before June 1683, when the map was advertised in *The Present Prospect of Tobago*—With Chamberlen's arms and the dedication completely

deleted and the direction lines extended over the space where they had been——British Museum; Huntington Library; Library of Congress (reduced facsimile in *Imago Mundi* 22 [1968]:27)

Printed Pieces Connected with John Poyntz's Tobago Settlement Project

1. To the Worshipful Hugh Chamberlen Doctor of Physick, and one of his Majesties Physitians in Ordinary, under Patent. . . . [signed:] John Lloyd. An Account of the Situation, Product, and other Advantages of the Island of Tobago. . . . These Descriptions with the Map of the said Island are sold by John Seller at his Shop on the West Side of the Royal-Exchange. [London, 1682]

Folio. 2 pp.

British Museum——*BMPM*, vol. 14, col. 300, attributed to 1688; *Some Early Printed Maps of Trinidad and Tobago*, Map Collectors Circle, no. 10 (1964), mentioned under no. 32 with attributed date 1683–88

This broadside was designed to accompany the first or second state of the Seller map, both of which had Chamberlen arms and dedication. It is referred to in the text of item 4, below, p. 2, as Captain Lloyd's "Breviat."

The date of 1682 is attributed because it must have been printed after September 1681, when the agreement between Poyntz and the duke of Courland's agent was signed, and before November 1682, when Chamberlen was removed from his post as a physician to Charles II.

2. An Advertisement about Planting the Isle of Tabago. In John Collins, *Salt and Fishery* (London, 1682), pp. 161–62

In many libraries——Wing C-5380; Sabin 14440

The text begins: "To the Courteous Capt. John Poyntz, I am beholding for the . . . following Advertisement." The material in this brief notice is not a summary of items 1, 3, or 4, and the address of Poyntz's headquarters ("Kings-Arms coffee house in Birching-Lane") differs from the addresses given in items 3 and 4.

3. Proposals to all such People as are minded to Transport or Concern themselves in the Island of Tobago, Which lieth about forty Leagues South from Barbadoes. . . . London, Printed by George Larkin, at the Kings-Head in Broadstreet, 1683.

Folio. 2 pp.

Harvard University Library——*A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers: From 1640-1708 A.D.*, 3 vols. (London, 1913-14), 3:153 (3 May 1683); Wing P-3131A

This piece refers to "*The Present Prospect of Tobago*, now in the Press. . . ." Its text is printed in *The Present Prospect*, pp. 43-47. Sabin (64856), without giving a location, confuses this piece with the *Advertisement of* [1695], item 5, below.

4. The Present Prospect of the Famous and Fertile Island of Tobago: with a Description of the Situation, Growth, Fertility and Manufacture of the said Island. To which is added, Proposals for the Encouragement of all those that are minded to settle there. By Captain John Poyntz. London: Printed by George Larkin for the Author, and are to be sold by Thomas Malthus, at the Sun in the Poultry. 1683.

Sm. 4to. [iv], 47 pp.

In many libraries——*Transcript of Registers*, 3:154 (10 May 1683); *Term Catalogues*, 2:28 (June 1683); Wing P-3130; Sabin 64857

At the bottom of page 47 appears, "Advertisement. A new Map of the Island of Tobago (with a Chart of all the Caribee-Islands) is to be sold by John Seller, at the West-side of the Royal Exchange." This refers to state 4 of the map.

5. Advertisement. Whereas the Settlement of the Island of Tobago. . . . Proposals offered by Capt. John Poyntz. I. That 40000 Acres of Land in the Island of Tobago shall be divided into 5000 Shares. . . . [London, 1695]

Folio. 1 p.

British Museum——Wing P-3126, attributed incorrectly to [1683?] following British Museum, *General Catalogue of Printed Books*; Sabin 64856, giving no location, confuses this piece with item 3, above.

This broadside must have been printed before August 1695, for it states: "The books will be opened at the Marine-Coffee-house in Birch-in-lane the 10th of August next. . . ."

6. Proposals offered by Capt. John Poyntz, for the Incouragement of settling a Joint Stock of 40000 Acres in the Island of Tobago in America, under his Highness the Duke of Courland; and how the same may be Planted and Stockt. . . . [London, 1695]

Folio. 1 p.

James Ford Bell Library, University of Minnesota——*Merchant Explorer*, no. 10 (May 1970), p. 34, attributed to 1683. It must, however, be after 10 August 1695, because it refers to the office as having already been opened at the "Marine Coffee House in Birch-in-Lane" (see item 5).

The text of the proposals, in seven numbered paragraphs, differs from that of item 5.

7. The Present Prospect of the Famous and Fertile Island of Tobago, to the Southward of the Island of Bar-

badoes. With a Description of the Scituation. . . . To which is added Proposals for Encouragement of all those that are minded to settle there. By Captain John Poyntz. The Second Edition. London, Printed by John Astwood for the Author, and sold by William Stareshmore at the Half Moon and Seven Stars in Cornhill, and at the Marine Coffee-house in Birchin lane, 1695.

Sm. 4to. [iv], 50 pp.

In many libraries——Wing P-3131; Sabin 64858

The date of printing must be about the same as for item 6, that is, after 10 August 1695, because on p. 50 is the notice, "The said Captain Poyntz doth give Notice, that he keeps his Office at the Marine Coffee-House in Birchin-lane." The dedication is to Sir Joseph Herne, M.P. for Dartmouth. The text of the proposals, pp. 46-50, differs from that of items 5 and 6.

Map 30

Mountserratt Island 1673.

Manuscript, on vellum, in ink, with title and date in gold,
56.8 x 67.9 cm

Inscription on reverse, in Blathwayt's hand: *Montserratt
Insula Entire and in 4 parts herein Inclosed*

1. CSP/AWI, 9 June
1675, no. 580, and 14 April
1676, no. 886.

On 9 June 1675 Colonel William Stapleton, governor of the Leeward Islands, sent a report to the Council for Plantations (not knowing it had been superseded by the Committee of the Lords of Trade and Plantations), enclosing maps of two of the islands under his jurisdiction—Nevis and Montserrat. His brother, who had served as his lieutenant governor in Montserrat, carried the papers and maps with him on a voyage to England undertaken for the primary purpose of restoring his health. The receipt of these maps was mentioned several months later in a letter from the Lords of Trade to Colonel Stapleton, asking him to send maps of Saint Christopher and Antigua “as he has done of Nevis and Montserrat which seem very exact.”¹ Map 30 is endorsed in the handwriting of Blathwayt, who began his work for the committee as clerk to Sir Robert Southwell in the fall of 1675, about the time the maps must have been received. Although dated two years earlier, this map is probably the “very exact” map of Montserrat sent by Stapleton. The words in the endorsement, “Entire and in 4 parts,” may mean that it was originally accompanied by four maps, which have disappeared, of sections of the island.

The governor who sent to England maps of Montserrat and Nevis, and other maps and plans at other times, was one of the most interesting and effective of the colonial officials in the West Indies in the seventeenth century. Stapleton had a storybook career. A professional soldier and during the Commonwealth loyal to the king in exile, he later rose by his own abilities to a good deal of affluence, and he achieved

2. *CSP/Domestic Series, Charles II, 1666-67*, p. 527, under date of 23 February 1667; Charles Dalton, ed., *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714* (London, 1892-1904; reprint, 1960), 1: 75. Stapleton's companion was Ensign William Legge, younger brother of the earl of Dartmouth. They were in prison as a result of the death of one James Somervill, another officer (*ibid.*, p. 2). The incident apparently cast no shadow on Stapleton's later career, nor is it mentioned in any other connection.

3. There is no biography of Stapleton, but much information on his life, chiefly from his own letters and writings, is included in C. S. S. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660-1688* (Cambridge, 1921). Additional background on the early history of Montserrat is found in James A. Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents* (London, 1926). Documentary material from various sources, including Vatican archives, is to be found in "Documents Relating to the Irish in the West Indies," collected and edited by the Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 4 (October 1932), pp. 139-286. Two articles by Father Gwynn also have interest for Montserrat: "Early Irish Emigration to the West Indies (Part II)," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 18 (September 1929): 648-63, and "The

solid administrative success, which was finally rewarded by a baronetcy. In 1667 he was in a London prison, along with a brother officer, petitioning for a pardon so that he could sail for the West Indies with Tobias Bridge's regiment, in which he held a captain's commission.² His crime was murder, possibly the result of a dueling incident, the details of which are lacking. The petition was successful, and Stapleton received his pardon in time to leave with his regiment. A year later he became a lieutenant colonel, and in quick succession he was appointed lieutenant governor of Montserrat, was granted an estate on the island to support his new dignity, and married the daughter of the governor of the neighboring island of Nevis. In 1671 he succeeded Sir Charles Wheeler as governor of the Leeward Islands and held the post until his death in 1686. His original appointment in Montserrat was made by William, Lord Willoughby, who recognized the young man's ability and felt that as an Irishman he would be especially well qualified to deal with the island's predominantly Irish population. Stapleton's straightforward reports and occasionally picturesque letters constitute an important source for the history of Montserrat in this period.³ As governor of the Leeward Islands he sent home several maps, and he apparently participated in drawing up plans of fortifications. One of these plans survives in an American private collection, in the form of a manuscript drawn "according to the Projection made by" Stapleton, signed "Thomas Tovy delineavit," probably of the year 1679.⁴

Unconventional in form, Map 30 consists of a series of coastal profiles showing the land as viewed from the sea. Joined together they present a rough idea of the shape of the island. The coastal slopes are drawn in minute and, apparently, circumstantial detail, and there is an extensive key to places and buildings in three of the corners in cartouches decorated with small drawings. Some of the decorations on the map suggest symbolism. The three fantastic mermaid-like figures carrying English, Irish, and Scottish flags represent the nationalities of the inhabitants. The two white-skinned figures carrying bundles of sugar cane are a reminder that the original labor supply for the plantations on the island consisted chiefly of displaced Irish peasants and Scottish

prisoners of war before there was any large-scale importation of Negroes from Africa. Pan with his pipes may be a comment on the way of life of the planters. The heraldic beast apparently taking a sight with an instrument that must be a cross-staff perhaps represents the island's dependence on ocean-borne commerce.

The importance of these decorative figures should perhaps not be emphasized too strongly, however, because at least one of them was not original. The motif of the three mermaids with flags appeared in closely similar form as early as 1631 on a map of the British Isles engraved in Amsterdam.⁵ Some of the other figures as well may have been copied from sources that have not been identified.

The draftsman's awkwardness in delineating human figures is in complete contrast to the informed sureness of his drawings of ships, which are shown in precise and delicate detail. Every aspect of the map points to the conclusion that its maker was a mariner. Some of the spellings of names and places in the key suggest he may have been an Irishman, but there is no clue to his identity in the scanty surviving records of Montserrat, nor has any other map or chart from his hand been found.

No separate or detailed map of Montserrat was published during the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Because the records of the island's early history are fragmentary, the names of places and people and the locations of estates and buildings on this map of 1673 are of great local interest.⁶ A transcription of the key, omitting diacritical marks, follows:

[Below title]

- A: thatch vally
- B: tar reiver: & point
- C: ye windward
- D: ye windmil of Capn Cove & his plantation
- E: ye Landing place
- F: Bottemles gutt & paster
- G: Catt gutt
- H: whelp: gutt
- I: marggrita gutt
- K: thatch vally
- K: ye Norreth point

First Irish Priests in the New World," *ibid.* 21 (June 1932): 213-28.

4. "The forme of the Fortifications at Pellican poynt nere Charlestowne in Nevis." The manuscript from the Dartmouth collection was listed with an incorrect date in the Sotheby catalogue, 11 November 1963, no. 146.

5. Koeman, *Atlantes*, 2: 359, Me 36A, no. 81.

6. This interest has been expressed particularly by Professor John Messenger of the Folklore Institute, Indiana University, who has published a series of articles on Montserrat in the *Irish Times*, Dublin, 16-20 January 1967, and by Miss Delores L. Somerville, of Plymouth, Montserrat, who is at present gathering materials for a history of the island.

7. The name of Moyle Johnson occurs on p. 7 of *Acts of Assembly, passed in the Island of Montserrat* . . . (London, 1740).

8. Probably the same name as that transcribed in *CSP/AWI*, 20 January 1668, no. 1676, as "Rosiclaire Nation."

[Lower right corner]

- A: ye Capn: genarals hous & plantation
- B: ye Cessions & prison hous
- C: Capt freemans & Brambles wth ye waterworck
- D: Th Simons & Lieut Jn Davis water worck & plantation
- E: Docr alex: nicolson's plantation
- F: Lieut: Coll: Theodor Lovering' plantan
- G: Capn muyle Johnsons⁷ plantation
- H: John Ely his hous & plantation
- I: maj Thommas Caines his plantion
- K: Cap wm Carr his hous & plata:n
- L: pieter scheurmans hous & pl:
- M: Capt pieter Cove his plantation
- N: part of Capn Jn Simes his planta
- O: Roger Cleernations⁸ planta
- P: bramsbis bay
- Q: bramsbis point:
- 1: ye ould foorth, or briskets bay
- 2: ye touwne Caled Stapletown
- 3: bay upwards 1/2 mile Long & near as deep
- 4: briskets folly
- 5: freemans beach & Reiver
- 6: norrishes reiver
- 7: Cleuerly his River, now Capt Cove
- 8: Capn. Johnson—his Reiver
- 9: Lieut John Davis his Reiver
- 10: Souldiers gutt Reiver
- 11: binams Reiver & Capn wm Carr his bay 3/4 of a mile Long & all Sand
- 12: ditto: his Little Bay 1/4 of a mile Long
- 13: Randevous bay & ye norward point

[Upper left corner]

- A: Bramsbis point
- B: Bramsbis plantation
- C: Coll: Osborns Bay & forth:
- D: Corck Hill
- E: St patrick Hill
- F: C: Osborns Hill
- G: pluymouth Towne

H: ye Costom Hous
I: ye church of St Anthonie
K: St georges Hill
L: ye hill aboue ye generalls plantatio
M: C: osborns ffort
N: Capt: Benthly his Hous & Whorck
O: Capt: Hasckins hous & wind mill
P: Coll: nathael Reads Hous & whorck
Q: Coll: Standly his hous & whorck
R: Kinsaile towne & Road
S: ye new foorth
T: ye plaace where ye frensh landed
v: Coll Reads point
w: Germans Bay
x: ye Cove Castel
z: palmito point

[Map 31 is discussed with Maps 27 and 28.]

Map 32

1. CSP/AWI, 21 January 1675, no. 419, and 25 November 1675, no. 712.
2. E.g., the license granted Augustine Herrman, CSP/AWI, 21 January 1674, no. 1210. Cf. Leo Kirschbaum, "Author's Copyright in England before 1640," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 40, no. 1 (1946): 43-80; Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, Lawrence C. Wroth, and Rollo G. Silver, *The Book in America*, 2d ed. (New York, 1951), p. 99; and Bruce W. Bugbee, *Genesis of American Patent and Copyright Law* (Washington, D.C., 1967).

A New Map of the Island of Barbadoes wherein every Parish, Plantation, Watermill, Windmill & Cattlemill, is described with the name of the Present Possesor, and all things els Remarkable according to a Late Exact Survey thereof. This Map is to be Sold by Mr. Overton at the White Horse without Newgate Mr. Morden at the Atlas in Cornhill Mr. Berry at the Globe at Charing Cross And Mr. Pask at ye Stationers Arms & Inkbottle on the North Side the Royal Exchange [London, 1675-76]

Engraved, 47.8 x 55.8 cm

Inscriptions on reverse, in two different hands: *Barbados Barbados*

This is the first printed economic map of an English American colony and represents the island of Barbados and its sugar production facilities at the height of their early prosperity. The information concerning the plantations, their owners, and the sugar mills derives from the period before the destructive hurricane of August 1675.

In January 1675 the assembly of Barbados voted "on request of Richard Forde, Surveyor, that an Act be passed to prohibit the copying, reprinting, or selling draughts of this Island from the copy made by said Forde, without his license, for 7 years, under a penalty of 2,000 lbs. of sugar." Later in the year the act received final passage, "giving license to Richard Forde, Surveyor, to have the sole benefit of selling his plots of this island."¹ This is an early and unusual instance of a British colonial assembly acting in the field of author's copyright. The effect of Forde's privilege was apparently intended to be similar to that of the royal licenses occasionally granted in connection with the publication of maps in England during this period.² It is not at all clear why Forde needed or wanted copyright protection in Barbados or what kind of copying was intended to come under the assembly's prohibition. The island had no copperplate press, nor was it

to have a printing press for another half century. The mention of reprinting, however, suggests that the map may have already been printed in London, or at least that the assembly thought it had been. There is a possibility, therefore, that the map was published before January 1675. The earliest known state (Map 32), could not, however, have appeared until after June 1675, at which time William Berry was still at an address different from the one given on the map. At some time between June 1675 and November 1676 he moved his shop to the location "at Charing Cross" that is given in the imprint.³ The lettering in the imprint cartouche at the upper left differs from that of the other cartouche as well as from the lettering in the body of the map. It is not centered in its space, and some of the letters have been cut over decorative lines. These circumstances give some support to the suggestion that an earlier imprint may have been deleted from this space, but no example of such an early state has been located.⁴

Further information concerning the circumstances of publication is found in the correspondence of the Lords of Trade with the governor of Barbados. Sir Jonathan Atkins, who went out as governor of the island in 1675, had difficulty in communicating with and getting along with the committee in London. He did not comply with the instruction to governors requiring them to send home maps of their territories until long after its receipt. In July 1679 the Lords sent Atkins a letter criticizing him sharply and requesting peremptorily "what their Lordships have already demanded without effect, viz. description and map of the country which he promised to send in 1675." Nearly a year later Governor Atkins, by that time very much out of favor with the authorities, wrote: "I have at last procured a chart of the Island, but I cannot commend it much. It cost the fellow a good sum of money to get it perfected, for he was forced to send it for England, but that it is true in all particulars I cannot assume. There is none that ever undertook it here except himself. He is a Quaker as your Lordships may perceive by his not mentioning the churches nor expressing the fortifications, of both of which they make great scruple."⁵

The "chart" described by Governor Atkins was certainly

3. R. A. Skelton to J. D. Black, 22 March 1969, interprets the various confusing designations for William Berry's addresses in *Term Catalogues*, using London plans and views of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to identify the locations.

4. Tony Campbell, in *The Printed Maps of Barbados*, Map Collectors' Circle, no. 21 (1965), describes this map under no. 8 and reproduces it in reduced form. Some of the information available to Mr. Campbell is repeated here, but it will be apparent that our attributions of date and other conclusions concerning this and other early Barbados maps are not the same.

5. CSP/AWI, 26 July 1679, no. 1079, and 21 May 1680, no. 1362.

6. Effective use of the information on this map was made by Richard S. Dunn in "The Barbados Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., vol. 26, no. 1 (January 1969), pp. 3-30.

7. CSP/AWI, 19 November 1680, no. 1598, and 11 June 1681, no. 136.

8. J. C. Hotten, ed., *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality; Emigrants . . . from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700* (New York, 1874), p. 447.

9. A letter of Richard Forde, "Surveyour at ye Bridge Town Barbadoes," to James Harrison of the Society of Friends at Philadelphia, 14 May 1687, is in the Boston Public Library (Ms.U. 1.14, vol. 1, no. 7). The content of the letter adds no biographical information, but the signature confirms that he used a final "e" in spelling his name. The handwriting is unusually clear and attractive, appropriate to an expert draftsman.

Forde's map, and Map 32 may even be the copy he sent. Another possibility is that it came to the Plantations Office through the interest of Thomas Povey, Blathwayt's uncle, whose holding in Barbados is one of the many plantations named and located on the map.

Sir Jonathan's poor opinion of the work need not be shared. He frequently expressed his opinion of Quakers in general as a "deceitful" people, and this prejudice may have clouded his judgment of what must be considered a remarkable attempt at an economic map of the chief sugar island of the empire.⁶ The phrase "not mentioning the churches" refers not to their omission from the map, because they are located, but probably to the fact that the word was not used. No symbol for church is included in the key, which lists only the various kinds of sugar mills. The fortifications, however, are completely omitted from the map. At the time there were several forts and batteries on the island, kept in repair at the charge of the assembly, and their cost was a matter of great concern and a good deal of discussion.

By the time Governor Atkins's letter with the map arrived in London he had already been removed from office, although news of his dismissal did not reach him until some months later. In November 1680 the Admiralty was ordered to prepare a frigate to transport his successor, Sir Richard Dutton, "his lady, children, and goods to Barbadoes, and thence after a fortnight's stay bring home Sir Jonathan Atkins." Soon after his arrival the new governor sent a report to the Lords of Trade replying to the standard questions and referring to Forde's map: "The longitude and latitude of the Island is variously estimated, there being no other admeasurement than that of Richard Ford, a surveyor, whose description is printed and sold in England."⁷ In a 1680 list of inhabitants "in and about the Towne of St. Michael's," now Bridgetown, a Richard Ford is included, with his wife, one child, and two slaves.⁸ This was probably the Quaker map maker who had to pay for the publication of his own map. He was still living and working as a surveyor in Bridgetown in 1687.⁹

The copperplate of the map was apparently sold before 1685, when another edition appeared with the imprint of Philip Lea and John Seller, which was added below the scale

of miles, the earlier imprint in the cartouche being blanked out. This edition was advertised by Lea in February 1685.¹⁰ One of the additions made to the plate was a sentence at the end of the "New Description" at the lower right, "Their is lately Printed a New Mapp of Jamaica after this manner by P. Lea."¹¹ The plate was reworked to sharpen the impression of many of the names and symbols. Small vignettes of trees and plants were introduced in the inland spaces, and indications of rocks and reefs were added along the coastlines. Other additions were four small town plans, three of them insets and one a vignette. After the first paragraph of the "Description" was inserted, "155 Square Miles. 99200 Square Acres."

From Lea and Seller the copperplate passed to the ownership of George Willdey, who republished the map, making no geographical changes and even leaving the announcement of Lea's Jamaica map unchanged, although he deleted the imprint from the space below the scale of miles and inserted his own in the upper left cartouche. The date is not known, but it was probably later than 1713, because at about that date Willdey began to use the address "at the Great Toy, Spectacle, Chinaware, and Print Shop, ye Corner of Ludgate Street near St. Pauls London."¹²

Reduced versions of Forde's map began to appear within a few years of its publication. In Robert Morden's *Geography Rectified* (1680) the text concerning Barbados indicates that he planned to use a map showing the "eleven precincts or parishes," but the map he actually printed on the same leaf with this text is merely a version of an earlier maritime chart of the island. In the second edition, of 1688, however, he substituted for it a reduction of Forde's map, with the parish names engraved rather prominently. John Seller, after 1685, also used a reduced and simplified version in some of his small atlases.

Earlier Maps of Barbados

Two governors of Barbados gave Richard Forde credit for

10. *Term Catalogues*, 1:115. The full imprint reads: "By Phillip Lea at ye Atlas & Hercules in ye Poltry ouer against ye ould Jury And by Iohn Sellers at his shop on the West side of the Royal Exchange London." A state with the date 1685 added has been recorded but not located, by H. Stevens and R. Tree, *Comparative Cartography*, Map Collectors' Circle, no. 39 (1967), p. 314, and addenda, p. 5.

11. The Jamaica map was not advertised until June 1685 (*Term Catalogues*, 1:137).

12. E. G. R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor & Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 292.

13. P. 26. A William Swan is listed among the holders of ten or more acres in Barbados in 1638 in William Duke, *Some Memoirs of the first Settlement of the Island of Barbados* (Barbados, 1741), p. 82. Henry Huncks was governor of Barbados for the earl of Carlisle in 1640-41. See James A. Williamson, *The Caribbee Islands under the Proprietary Patents* (London, 1926), pp. 135-46.

14. Add. Ms. 9767. The map in the second edition is the same with the exception of three coastal names added as well as the name of one plantation. It is the second state that was used as pl. 1 in Campbell, *Printed Maps*.

15. John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great-Britain . . . Together with A Prospect of the most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1676), fols. 47-48 (2d ser.).

16. Add. Ms. 9767 records payment on 20 November 1677 for "a large Map of the Streights, Maps of Barbados, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina drawn with ye hand." The two maps of Barbados are Add. Ms. 5414.15 and Sloane Ms. 2441. Both came from the collections of Dr. Hans Sloane, who was physician to the second duke of Albemarle when he went to Jamaica as governor in 1687. Albemarle had been a member of the Plantations Committee since 1682, and Sloane could have come into possession of one or both of them through this association.

being the island's first cartographer, but there had been some earlier attempts. All of them were available in some form in the Plantations Office. In 1657 Richard Ligon published an interesting map in his *True & Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, in which he wrote: "The length and breadth of this Iland, I must deliver to you only upon trust for, I could not go my selfe about it, being full of other businesse, but I had some speech with the antientest, and most knowing Surveyer there, one Captain Swann, who told me, that he once took an exact plot of the whole Iland, but it was commanded out of his hands by the then Governour, Sir Henry Hunks, who carried it into England; since which time, neither himselfe, nor any other to his knowledge, had taken any; nor did he believe there was any extant." After some urging Captain Swann produced some papers that helped Ligon to estimate the size of the island, but, Ligon continued, "for the forme of the Superficies of the Iland, I am utterly ignorant."¹³ His map, it is true, shows the coastline very inaccurately, but the names he includes were recorded by one who had actually lived in Barbados and therefore had access to reliable information. A copy of his book, probably in its second edition of 1673, was obtained for the Plantations Office and paid for sometime before June 1676.¹⁴

Another early map of Barbados in the library of the Plantations Committee was an entirely different rendering of the outlines of the island in John Ogilby's *America* (London, 1671). Payment for a copy of this book was also made before June 1676. The title of the map is "Novissima et Accuratisima Barbados Descriptio," and its general characteristics suggest its derivation from a nautical chart. This concept of the island was used also in the Bassett and Chiswell edition of Speed's *Theatre* in 1676.¹⁵

In November 1677 the Plantations Office also paid for a map of Barbados, which may be one of two manuscripts now in the British Museum. Very nearly identical, they are both in the hand of the unidentified map maker of the Thames school who was responsible for Maps 16, 17, and 20. Their outlines and general characteristics indicate that they derive from the same original source as the map used by Ogilby.¹⁶

The sources of Ogilby's geographic materials relating to the English colonies in America have never been thoroughly studied, and no one has suggested an antecedent for his map of Barbados. A map that could have been used by him must have existed, however, because a description of Barbados written by John Scott in 1669 contains three references to a map of the island that was intended to accompany his manuscript. The map is not now with the manuscript and has never been found. Scott does not say whether he made this map himself or whether he obtained it in the West Indies.¹⁷ He had gone to Barbados in 1665, had entered the service of the governor, Francis, Lord Willoughby, and for two years had traveled in various parts of the Caribbean, making it his business to collect historical and geographical information. It is known that he made some maps himself, and he collected many others from various sources. In 1682, when Scott's effects were impounded following a brush with the law, a number of maps were found, among them "a large chart of Barbados with detailed description of its coastline, harbor and fortifications."¹⁸ This chart seems to have been more elaborate than the map printed in Ogilby's *America* in 1671, but the circumstances of time sequence and opportunity suggest that Ogilby could have used the map mentioned in 1669 by John Scott.

Sloane Ms. 2441 was reproduced by Vincent T. Harlow in *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623-1667*, Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., no. 56 (London, 1925), opposite p. 42, with a caption stating that the map was sent home by Sir Richard Dutton in 1684. The assumption is unlikely. The manuscript with which the map is bound is made up of two parts put together in the eighteenth century and does not provide evidence of the date or provenance of the map. Governor Dutton was familiar with Forde's map, which would have provided far better illustrative material for his report than this earlier map, which showed only the coastal outline with relatively few geographical names.

17. British Museum, Sloane Ms. 3662, fol. 62b. The text was printed without editorial comment in the *Weekly Argosy* (Georgetown, British Guiana), 17 August 1907, and again in the *Bulletin of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, nos. 11 and 12 (November 1967 and February 1968).

18. L. S. Mowrer, *The Indomitable John Scott* (New York, 1960), p. 179. This biography contains references to his cartographic activities and prints the text of his appointment as a royal geographer, 29 August 1668.

Maps 33, 34, 35, 36

33.

Jamaicae Descriptio [in ms.: *Auctior et Emendatior.*] F Lamb
Sculp [ca. 1675]

Engraved, on vellum, colored, 42.5 x 53 cm

Extensive erasures and numerous manuscript additions in ink

34.

Tabula Iamaicae Insulae Per Edwd. Slaney [London,] 1678.
*Published by his Majestyes especiall command. Sold by Will:
Berry at the Globe betwixt Chering Cross & White Hall.
Illustrissimo Prudentissimo Potentissimoque Principi Iacobo Duci
Eboraci &c. Hanc Descriptionem Novissimam Iamaicae
Humillime D.D.D. Edw. Slaney.*

Engraved, on vellum, 43.7 x 60.6 cm

35.

*Novissima et Accuratissima Jamaicae Descriptio per Johannem
Ogilvium Cosmographum Regium.* [London,] 1671 F Lamb
Sculp

Engraved, on vellum, 42.9 x 53.8 cm

36.

*A New Mapp of Jamaica. According to the last Survey. London
Printed by James Moxon. and Sold at his Shop in the Strand neer
Cherincros at ye Sign of the three Herings, 1677. James Moxon
Sculp. To Cap. John Wood. Gent. This Mapp is Humbly
Dedicated by James Moxon.*

Engraved, colored, 43.8 x 53.4 cm

These four maps of Jamaica, which are not arranged in any

apparent order in the atlas, are discussed chronologically in relation to other early English maps of the island.

The First Map of Jamaica and Its Maker

The earliest known map of Jamaica to be made after the English conquest of the island in 1655 was a small engraved production published to illustrate a book by Edmund Hicker-ingill, *Jamaica Viewed*, which appeared in 1661 in two editions.¹ The author of the book, whom *The Dictionary of National Biography* characterizes as “an eccentric divine,” was in his youth a military man, mariner, and diplomat, who spent some time in Jamaica, returning to London after the Restoration. A map “of the soundings toward the Island of Jamaica” was “given to him, (to publish for the Benefit of all Mariners that touch upon that Coast) by Governor Doyly, the Author’s dear friend and intimate Acquaintance, &c.”² A manuscript version of this map is in the British Museum and has the title *A new Description of Jamaica: by John Man, chiefe surveyor, anno 1662*.³ It is dedicated to Lord Windsor, who succeeded Edward D’Oyley as governor in that year.

John Man was a merchant who had gone to Jamaica and was planning to develop a plantation. On a visit to London in 1660 he petitioned the crown for the post of surveyor general, claiming that he had “for many years studied mathematics, and practised the art of surveying land.” His petition was granted in January 1661, and he is mentioned occasionally in the later records in connection with road building and also as a captain and later sergeant major in the militia.⁴ Until his death, which must have occurred about 1671, he held the post of surveyor general under several governors, although his relations with them were not always satisfactory. When Lord Windsor’s appointment as governor was under discussion, a kinsman of John Man wrote letters to highly placed persons in London claiming that Governor D’Oyley had refused to allow “anything toward his charges” and urging that the new governor be instructed to acknowledge Man as the surveyor

1. The 1661 editions are Wing H-1816, a duo-decimo, and H-1817, octavo. A reduced reproduction of the map is pl. 6 in Kit S. Kapp, *The Printed Maps of Jamaica up to 1825*, Map Collectors’ Circle, no. 42 (1968).

2. Quoted from the preface to *Jamaica Viewed*, 3d ed., published by Benjamin Bragg in 1705 (Sabin 31694). For this later edition, however, a different map, without soundings, was used.

3. Add. Ms. 16, 371.i, listed in *BMMs Maps*, 3:437.

4. CSP/AWI, [1660], no. 360, printed in addenda for 1574-1674, in volume for 1675-76. Also January 1661, no. 14; 9 November 1662, no. 384; and 1 December 1662, no. 397.

5. Ibid., 22 February 1662, no. 238; 7 March 1662, no. 252; and letter of John Shaw to the earl of Clarendon, 23 April 1662, in *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for 1869* (New York, 1870), pp. 43-44.

6. CSP/AWI, undated statement of Sir Thomas Modyford, [1672?], no. 2,049, in addenda for 1653-87, in volume for 1685-88.

7. Ibid., 21 March 1662, no. 259.

8. Ibid., 28 December 1667, no. 1652.

general and also make him "Registrar and Keeper of the Records of the Survey of the Island." The influence mustered on Man's behalf was apparently powerful enough to induce the king to recommend his appointment.⁵ A later governor was critical of Man, saying that he "would live where he pleased, and not where he was told. He lived at the Point [Port Royal], a sea town, two leagues distant by water and ten leagues over a deep, sandy passage by land [from the capital, Santiago de la Vega, now Spanish Town]. He would let no one survey but by his appointment, charging first 12d. then 8d., and finally finding that insufferable, 4d. an acre, though he gave not a penny an acre for the work. He did nothing himself but receive the money, which was a great oppression to the poor planter, and no 'able artist,' indeed, but four men in the island would work for him at such pay, so that much of what is granted is not yet surveyed."⁶

John Man's Second Map (Map 35)

The instructions to Lord Windsor, who arrived in Jamaica as governor in 1662, included a requirement that he "order an exact survey of all harbours and landing places" and "a survey of the whole island, and a register of the plantations to be sent home as soon as possible."⁷ He stayed on the island only ten weeks, however, and there is no record of a map of Jamaica being sent to London until the end of 1667, when Sir Thomas Modyford, then governor, wrote to the duke of Albemarle that "one of the surveyors of the island" had presented him with "an exact plot of the same, with the parishes and plantations," which he was sending by the hand of his son, Charles Modyford. The governor said he believed that there were "many more plantations in the obscure tract of the island settled by persons who for some cause dare not be known," and that "if this map were printed by his Majesty's command, and copies dispersed to the several great cities of his Majesty's dominions, it might give great encouragement to become planters; in order to which his son will solicit such persons as his Grace shall appoint."⁸

The publication of the map seems not to have been arranged immediately. In March 1671 Governor Modyford, replying to a questionnaire of the Plantations Council, referred to "a map of this island, taken exactly by the said major Man, and since copied by Mr. Innians, the surveyor, and sent my son to be printed, wherein the rivers, harbours, and roads, and their depths and soundings, are punctually set down, and will be with these by my son presented to your lordships." He said further that the map in question showed the parishes.⁹ *Novissima et Accuratissima Jamaicae Descriptio* has all the characteristics mentioned by the governor. Map 35 is a special copy on vellum and may be the copy presented by Charles Modyford with his father's reply to the questionnaire. Several enclosures accompany Modyford's communication, but no map is among them.

John Ogilby, the publisher, used the same plate in his *America* (1671),¹⁰ engraved on paper, of course, rather than vellum. His large and ambitious volume was for the most part a translation from a book by Arnoldus Montanus, but much of the material on the English colonies in America was gathered by Ogilby himself. He is known to have been collecting it for some time before publication, and he would have been receptive to the idea of including a recent map compiled under official auspices. Francis Lamb, the engraver, produced maps for numerous London publishers and brought out some on his own account from about 1670 to as late as 1700.¹¹

Another published version of John Man's second map, also dated 1671, was used by Richard Blome to illustrate *A Description of the Island of Jamaica; With the other Isles and Territories in America, to which the English are Related* (London, 1672).¹² Considerably smaller than the Ogilby version, it shows variations in detail that are difficult to account for unless it is presumed that a second, differing manuscript was received by Blome through Charles Modyford. Some of the soundings and the shape of the Port Royal peninsula are different, and a few place names do not occur on the Ogilby plate. Although plantations are located on the Blome map, there is no list of owners or indication as to their principal crops. Instead Blome used an inset of the West Indies and

9. *Journals of the Assembly of Jamaica* (Jamaica, 1811), vol. 1, appendix, p. 24, where the complete text is printed. The version in *CSP/AWI*, [1671], no. 704, is incomplete and somewhat misleading. Francis Inyons, or Innians, is known to have been surveyor of Saint Katherine's and Saint John's parishes in 1671.

10. Wing O-165, map opposite p. 337.

11. Thomas Chubb, *The Printed Maps in the Atlases of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1927), p. 437. For discussions of the complicated bibliography of Ogilby's *America* and the 1670 title page found in some copies of it, see Elizabeth Baer, *Seventeenth Century Maryland* (Baltimore, 1949), no. 70, and Cumming, *Southeast*, no. 67.

12. In Kapp, *Printed Maps*, pl. 9 is a greatly reduced reproduction of the map. Blome used the same plate without change in the second edition of 1678 and in an expanded revision of 1687 entitled *The Present State* (Wing B-3208, B-3209, B-3215).

13. Kapp, *Printed Maps*, nos. 14–16, differentiating three states. State 2 is found in the John Carter Brown Library copy of Seller's *Atlas Maritimus*, which belonged to Blathwayt. The third state must have been brought out in 1677 or 1678.

14. *Term Catalogues*, 1: 119.

15. For John Wood, see the commentary on Map 2. The Moxon map is listed in Kapp, *Printed Maps*, as no. 25, incorrectly attributed to ca. 1680 and not reproduced. In the bibliography appended to Joseph Moxon, *Mechanick Exercises*, 2d ed., ed. Herbert Davis and Harry Carter (London, 1962), p. 432, the term-catalogue entry was cited with the notation that no example was known. The introduction to this work includes some discussion of the activities of the Moxons in connection with map publishing.

added a decorative cartouche with the arms of the governors of Jamaica, including those of Sir Thomas Lynch, successor to Sir Thomas Modyford. Although these two maps have the same date, it seems logical to consider Blome's the later, since the book for which it was engraved was not published until the following year.

Both versions were the sources for a number of derivative maps. The Blome version of Man's map was followed in the map of Jamaica included in the 1676 edition of John Speed's *Prospect of the Most Famous Parts of the World*, published by Thomas Bassett and Richard Chiswell. French and Dutch versions also show signs of derivation from the Blome plate, and Continental publishers continued to use it well into the eighteenth century, ignoring later and better English maps of Jamaica. The Ogilby version, however, seems to have had considerable influence in England. Its best-known derivative was published by John Seller, probably at some time before 1675, and he included it in copies of his *Atlas Maritimus* with that date on the title page.¹³ It was a faithful copy of the Ogilby plate, retaining the list of plantations with a few additional names, and adding some impressive decorative features.

The Moxon Version of John Man's Second Map (Map 36)

As early as November 1672 Joseph Moxon advertised for sale "A Map of Jamaica, according to the late survey."¹⁴ Until recently no copy of it was known, but there is an example in the library of the Institute of Jamaica. It does not carry a date, nor does Joseph Moxon's name appear, but it was "Sold on Ludgate hill at the Signe of Atlas," the address at which he was carrying on his business in 1672, the year in which he published other maps engraved by his son James. James signed this map not only as the engraver but also as the dedicator of the map to "Mr. John Wood. Gent."¹⁵

The geographical content of the Moxon map was carefully copied from John Man's second map as printed by Ogilby. No changes were made in the list of plantation

owners, although numerous decorative features were added. It can now be established that Map 36 is a second state of this Moxon plate. The revisions include the addition of "A New Mapp of" before the title and of the date 1677 at the end of a completely new imprint, as well as the substitution of "Cap." for "Mr." before John Wood's name in the dedication. The nature of these changes makes the bibliographical entries of the two states so different that the connection between them has not hitherto been apparent. There is another copy of the map in the second state in the Huntington Library.

16. MPG 568, described in *CSP/AWI*, [1674?], no. 1432. It is not now connected with any group of papers.

A Projected Revision of Man's Second Map (Map 33)

An extensive revision of the Man-Ogilby plate was begun, possibly as early as 1675, but so far as we know it never resulted in an actual publication. The evidence for this project is Map 33 and another map in the Public Record Office,¹⁶ both of which represent stages in the revision.

Map 33 was printed from the same plate as Map 35 but on a sheet of vellum rather than on paper, and some color was added. Deletions were made by knife erasure, and there are numerous additions in ink, which was probably red but has faded to a reddish brown, leaving a few names illegible. In the title cartouche everything has been removed except the words "Jamaicae Descriptio," and the words "Auctior et Emendatior" have been added in ink. Although it has not been practicable to reproduce this map in its colors, comparison with Map 35 makes it easy to distinguish between the manuscript additions and the engraved names and features remaining on the plate.

The map in the Public Record Office represents a somewhat later stage in the process of preparing a new publication of the map. The lower third of the Ogilby plate has been cut off completely, thus eliminating the cartouche as well as the list of parishes and plantations. The same place names have been added in ink and the same revisions made in the boundaries of the parishes, except that there are no additional

17. *Ibid.*, 21 October
1671, no. 642.

names along the coast of the eastern parishes of Saint George and Saint Thomas. This seems to indicate an unfinished example of an intermediate stage in the revision of the map.

Publication of a revised map would have been appropriate about 1675, when the number of parishes had been enlarged to fifteen. The revised parish boundaries are conspicuous on both maps. The added place names, however, make this date uncertain. Some of them do not occur on known maps before 1684. There is no reason to suppose, however, that additional information was not available to the governors or to the Plantations officials at an earlier date. The best suggestion seems to be that this was an attempt to bring John Man's map up to date in order to show the parish boundaries of 1675 and that it was probably projected before the arrival in London in 1676, or at least before the publication in 1678, of a map resulting from a new survey of Jamaica (Map 34).

The Map Surveyed by Vassall and Rogers (Map 34)

Even before the content of John Man's second map gained wide currency, the need for a new and better map of Jamaica was evident to the colonists. In 1671, at the beginning of the service of Sir Thomas Lynch as lieutenant governor, the Jamaica Council directed a reorganization of the surveyors and set forth new rules for surveying the lands that were being settled. It declared that "nothing could give more satisfaction to strangers inquisitive of the nature, conveniences and situation of this island, or be of so great use to the present planters, as an exact map of the whole island, perfectly describing all the mountains, valleys, rivers, and settlements." Each of the nine surveyors was ordered to "make an exact description of his own division which may afterwards be reduced into a larger scale, and if they want any help that they apply to two Justices of Peace, who are required to give them assistance, to be paid out of the Parish stock."¹⁷

This cooperative plan was ambitious and probably not realistic, given the customary surveying methods and the great variations in the terrain of the island, some of the dis-

tricts being mountainous and sparsely populated. Furthermore, the idea of cooperation on the part of local surveyors in compiling maps was new and had not been attempted in other colonies at this early period. It is not surprising, therefore, that no more is heard of a map to be made by this method. Instead, in July 1672 the council ordered that "Col. Vassal and Mordecai Rogers immediately undertake the drawing of a most exact, large, and particular map of the whole island, perfectly describing all the mountains, rivers, valleys, settlements, creeks, and harbours; and if they finish the whole work in four months' time, that they receive 20 £ per mensem, and so proportionably for what time they shall spend more; and the surveyors in every parish are ordered to use their utmost endeavours to assist them."¹⁸ The responsibility was thus given specifically to two men, and the other surveyors were merely expected to help where they could. At about the same time Sir Thomas Lynch wrote to the Plantations Council that he hoped shortly to make progress in the map of the island, and some months later he made another optimistic reference to the project. Colonel Vassall was still working on it in April 1673, when the governor mentioned that he was absent "about the survey of the island."¹⁹

One of the two surveyors chosen to work on this map, Mordecai Rogers, is known only as surveyor of the parishes of Saint George and Saint Mary, appointed in October 1671. John Vassall, however, is well known in the affairs of several colonies for activities other than map making. English-born, he was one of a family with wide colonial interests in New England and the West Indies, and he had not long before been the determined leader of a group attempting to settle on the Cape Fear River in North Carolina. Disappointed by the failure of this colony, he moved to Virginia and, in 1672, to Jamaica. Sir Thomas Lynch wrote, "from Virginia comes one Col. Vassall, a sober, rational man, that says more will remove, and is like to settle a good trade with that country for provisions."²⁰

There is no further reference to the map project during Sir Thomas Lynch's tenure of office. In 1676, after his return to England, the Lords of Trade wrote to his successor, Lord

18. Ibid., 2 July 1672, no. 881.

19. Ibid., 4 April 1673, no. 1062.

20. Ibid., 10 March 1672, no. 777. See also *Dictionary of American Biography*.

21. CSP/AWI, 6 April 1676, no. 867.

22. Ibid., 3 April 1676, no. 863; 3 May 1676, no. 917; [31 July 1676], no. 1002. Later in the same year Lord Vaughan sent a map of the town and harbor of Port Royal.

23. Add. Ms. 9767, under date of 25 March 1677. Another payment, of 25 March 1678, covers the purchase or copying of various maps, including one of Jamaica. This may have referred to a manuscript, and it may have had something to do with the map received from Lord Vaughan.

24. CSP/AWI, 28 October 1677, no. 461.

25. Ibid., [24 November 1677], no. 490.

26. *Term Catalogues*, 1:311.

Vaughan, saying that they expected to receive the map of Jamaica "made by Sir Thomas Lynch, with great exactness as we hear, left with his lordship to take a copy."²¹ At about the same time Lord Vaughan wrote both to Sir Robert Southwell and to the Lords of Trade that he was sending the map in the hands of Captain William Davies of the frigate *Foresight*. He wrote that he had "at last got the map of the Island finished. . . . It was begun by Sir Thomas Lynch." He said he had taken great pains "to make it perfect; all former draughts were only by guess, but in this the seacoast and harbours are exactly laid down, and the island, rivers, &c., and settlements perfectly described and run with a chain." The receipt of the map was acknowledged on 31 July. Sir Robert had shown it to the lords of the committee, who were "extremely pleased with the beauty and exactness of it." He went on to say that it would be pasted on cloth and presented to the king.²² A later entry in the accounts of the Lords of Trade includes payment to "the Mapman" for pasting on cloth a map of Jamaica.²³ In the following year there was a general discussion of Jamaica affairs by the Lords of Trade in connection with instructions being drawn up for the next governor, Charles Howard, earl of Carlisle. In October 1677 they agreed to consider at a future meeting "whether the map of Jamaica transmitted by Lord Vaughan be made public by print or be kept private."²⁴ A few weeks later a map of Jamaica, presumably the same one or a copy of it, was transmitted by one of the clerks of the Privy Council to the earl of Carlisle, who gave a receipt for it.²⁵ This transaction may have been connected with the printing of the map. At any rate, the map was advertised for sale on 14 May 1678 by William Berry.²⁶ It was an officially instigated publication, dedicated to the duke of York. Map 34 is an example of the second state, which shows two minor revisions of the plate.

The use of the phrase "Per Edwd. Slaney" following the title of the map is difficult to explain. All the evidence tends to show it must be the map originally surveyed by Vassall and Rogers, but it went through the hands of two governors of Jamaica and of various people in London before it came to William Berry, and at some time Slaney's name became associated with it. Efforts to trace an Edward Slaney in

Jamaica or in London have been unsuccessful. He may have been an intermediate copyist whose name has been given more prominence than it deserved. Five years later, in 1683, a literal copy of the map, reduced by about one-third, with the title "An Exact Mapp of Iamaicae" was used to illustrate the official publication *The Laws of Jamaica*. Slaney's name does not occur on this version.²⁷

Map 34 shows a considerable advance over John Man's map (Map 35) in knowledge of the shape of the island and the courses of some of the rivers. The number of place names along the coast and in the settled areas is very much larger. This is a land map, however, and gives no soundings. The parish boundaries are not shown, and there is none of the economic information so conspicuous on the Ogilby version of the earlier map.

27. Wing J-124. The map carries no name of author or engraver but has the imprint "London Printed for Charles Harper over against St. Dunstons Church in fleet-Street."

States of the Vassall-Rogers-Slaney Map

The date 1678 appears in all states. In all the copies listed the cartouche at the lower right is blank.

1. Probably a proof. "Negrill harb" and "25" at left border added in pen—British Museum, Maps S.T.J.
2. "Negrill harb" and "25" engraved—British Museum, K.Top.123.47; John Carter Brown Library, Blathwayt Map 34; Library of Congress
3. Imprint changed to read: "Sold by Rob: Morden at ye Atlas in Cornhill neer ye Royal Exchange"—British Museum, Maps 80710 (23), with eighteenth-century manuscript additions; Huntington Library

The Bochart and Knollis Map

The best, as well as the largest, seventeenth-century map of Jamaica appeared in the folio edition of *The Laws of Jamaica*,

28. Wing J-125. The map was listed by Frank Cundall in *Bibliographia Jamaicensis* (Kingston, Jamaica, 1902), p. 66.

29. *Term Catalogues*, 2: 101. This large map has never been reproduced in its entirety. Reduced sections were used to illustrate Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No Peace beyond the Line* (New York, 1972), pl. 16, and Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves* (Chapel Hill, 1972), fig. 6.

30. *Term Catalogues*, 2: 137.

published by Charles Harper in 1684.²⁸ Engraved on three sheets joined, it measures 57.8 by 134 centimeters, and the bar scale is 20 miles to 21.6 centimeters. No latitude or longitude is shown, but, according to the long descriptive title, "to satisfy such as desire to know ye true Longitude, & Latitude, of any places mentioned in this Map, the Latitude of Port Royall was accurately taken by a Gnomon of more then 23 foot high, and found to bee $17^{\circ}:32'$. & its Longitude from London 76° . westward, or 5 hours & 4 minutes." In addition to numerous place names—more than appear on the "Slaney" map—there are a great many names of individuals next to the location symbols of their plantations. The symbols are keyed to show the presence of sugar, indigo, and cotton works, and "Craules for Hoggs & Pens for Cattel," as well as to indicate which plantations were devoted to raising provisions or cacao. This is, moreover, the earliest map of Jamaica to show roads. It was dedicated to Sir Thomas Lynch by Charles Bochart and Humphrey Knollis, whose surnames occur in variant spellings several times on their map in connection with plantations. Although the advertisement for this edition of *The Laws of Jamaica* stated that the map was also for sale separately, all recorded copies have been found in association with the book.²⁹

In the following year a copy of this map, reduced to less than half its size, was brought out by Philip Lea, who advertised it in June 1685 as "A new large Sheet Map of Jamaica."³⁰ The title is simply *A New Mapp of the Island of Jamaica*, although it is sometimes listed under the title of the large inset at the top, "A Generall Mapp of the Continent and Islands which bee Adjacent to Jamaica." The engraver was remarkably successful in transferring to a small space the information from the large map, although at the cost of making it appear crowded and unattractive. When Lea used a version of the same map as part of *The Principall Islands in America belonging to the English Empire*, he simplified it greatly by leaving out most of the plantation names. Revision in the Port Royal area with the word "Sunk" shows that Lea's map was published after the earthquake of 1692, which virtually destroyed the town.

Map 37

Venezuela, cum parte Australi Novae Andalusiae. Amstelodami, Guiljelmus Blaeuw excudit. [1629-62]

Engraved, 37 x 47.8 cm

A group of Dutch maps in the atlas covers South American areas. These are Map 37 (Venezuela), Map 40 (Brazil), Map 41 (Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata), Map 45 (Guiana), and Map 48 (the Strait of Magellan). At the time the atlas was compiled, maps of Chile and Peru were also included, as we know from the manuscript list of maps, but they are not now present. No maps based on English information existed for these areas, with the notable exception of the Strait of Magellan (see commentaries on Maps 42 and 48), and Spanish and Portuguese maps seldom achieved publication in the seventeenth century. For South America, the English had to rely on maps made for the use of the Dutch West India Company, which had been organized in 1621 following the success of the Dutch East India Company.¹ The greater part of the information on these maps was compiled from Spanish or Portuguese sources, and to it was added newer information resulting from the company's own activity. Hessel Gerritsz was the cartographer for both companies, and many of his maps became the standard for the remainder of the century. After his death in 1632 the Western Hemisphere received less and less attention, and after the expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil in 1654 and from New Amsterdam in 1664, none at all. Maps with the early outlines continued to be published in quantity, however, and numerous atlases containing them have survived.²

The maps in the present group did not come from any single published atlas, and the varying condition of their margins indicates that they were probably separate maps before they were incorporated into the present volume. All of them except Map 48 derive their content from maps pre-

1. Marcel Destombes, *Catalogue des Cartes Nautiques Manuscrites sur Parchemin, 1300-1700. Cartes Hollandaises. La Cartographie de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, 1593-1743* (Saigon, 1941), pp. 8-11. See also F. C.

Wieder, *Monumenta Cartographica* (The Hague, 1928), 5 vols., passim.

Most of the general studies of Dutch mapping of the period concentrate, as might be expected, on the Eastern Hemisphere. The maps based on East Indian voyages greatly exceeded the American maps in number and to some extent in quality.

2. Cornelis Koeman's five-volume work, *Atlantes Neerlandici*, lists Dutch atlases published prior to 1880. It is an indispensable tool for all future studies of early cartography.

3. Koeman, *Atlantes*, 2:347, Me 30, no. 6; and 1:75, Bl 1, no. 52.

4. *Ibid.*, 1:75, Bl 56, no. 52.

5. *Ibid.*, 2:358, Me 35, no. 709, and text, 2:344-46.

pared by Hessel Gerritsz in 1625 for *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* by Joannes de Laet, an official of the West India Company and its historian. The outlines and place names of Map 37 are very closely based on the somewhat smaller map in that volume, "Venezuela, ende het Westelyckste gedeelte van Nueva Andalusia." The only additions are some mountains and decorations in the interior. The map, which is a second state of the plate, was originally published as a separate by the younger Jodocus Hondius at some time before his death in 1629. After he died, a large group of his plates, including this one, was purchased by Willem Janszoon Blaeu, who erased Hondius's name from the imprint and substituted his own. Blaeu first used the map in 1630 in his *Atlantis Appendix, Sive Pars Altera*,³ and the same plate, slightly the worse for wear, was used in 1662, when his son brought out the eleventh volume of the *Atlas Maior*. In this publication a printed text is on the reverse of the map.⁴

Map 37 can readily be confused with another having the same geographical content, which was copied from it and has approximately the same dimensions and exactly the same title but has "Henricus Hondius Excudit" in the imprint cartouche. The only other differences are in a few of the decorative features. This similar map, by the successor of Jodocus Hondius the younger, is first recorded as being included in an atlas in 1633, when it was used in the French-language edition of the appendix to the atlas of Mercator-Hondius.⁵

Map 38

[Surinam and Commewijne Rivers. 1667 or later]

Manuscript, in ink and colors, 51.7 x 41.9 cm. Watermark, Heawood 1785

The region called Guiana, between the Orinoco and the Amazon rivers, was not brought under effective control by the Spaniards in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and as a consequence it was frequently the target of colonial activity on the part of the Portuguese, French, Dutch, and English. Beginning with the expeditions of Sir Walter Raleigh, inspired by stories of the golden city of Manoa, a series of English attempts at colonial settlement met with little success, none of them achieving permanency so far from the base of supplies in the mother country. In 1651, however, a group of royalists from Barbados, sparked by the energy, imagination, and financial resources of Francis, Lord Willoughby, began a settlement along the Surinam River. Concentrating on sugar production, the Surinam colonists made a flourishing start, but during the Second Dutch War a small fleet from Holland attacked the fort the planters had started to build for the defence of the river, and the colony was surrendered on 16 March 1667. In the fall of the same year an English fleet under Sir John Harman drove out the Dutch, but the Treaty of Breda had already been concluded, and under its terms the English reconquest was nullified and Dutch ownership of Surinam confirmed.¹

Memories of the short-lived English colony of Surinam survived in literature as the scene of a novel, *Oroonoko: Or The Royal Slave* (London, 1688), by Aphra Behn, England's first professional female writer. The story was later adapted for the stage by Thomas Southerne, and his play enjoyed great popularity, being revived and republished many times through the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.²

No English maps of Surinam were published while it was an English colony, but two surviving manuscripts date from

Although the reproduction is in black and white, in the original the outlines are in black ink, with names in red and black. Watercolor in yellow, blue-green, and mauve is used to accentuate the shorelines, and the symbols for buildings are filled in with red and blue-green. The compass rose is in red, blue-green, and black.

1. Background material is found in James A. Williamson, *English Colonies in Guiana and on the Amazon 1604-1668* (Oxford, 1923), especially chap. 7; and in Vincent T. Harlow, *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623-1667*, Hakluyt Society, 2d ser., no. 56 (London, 1925), introduction and pp. 174-257. See also F. Oudeschans-Dentz's edition of John Scott's description of Guiana from British Museum, Sloane Ms. 3662, in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 39 (1918): 176-99.

2. Wing B-1749 and Sabin 4371-73; Wing S-4761-64 and Sabin 88519-46. The question as to whether or not Mrs. Behn's information on Surinam was firsthand has interested a number of modern scholars and seems best answered with a slightly qualified affirmative. See references in *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (Cambridge, 1941-57), 2: 418;

5:439. The subject was dealt with recently by H. A. Hargreaves in "New Evidence of the Realism of Mrs. Behn's Oroonoko," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* (September, 1970), pp. 437-44. The John Carter Brown Library's manuscript maps of Surinam were consulted by Emily Hahn in connection with the research for her biographical novel, *Purple Passage* (New York, 1950), also published in London in 1951 as *Aphra Behn*.

3. The document is printed in Richard Gottheil, "Contributions to the History of the Jews in Surinam," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 9 (1901): 129-46. See also *Essai Historique sur la Colonie de Surinam . . . avec l'Histoire de la Nation Juive Portugaise & Allemande y Etablie . . .* (Paramaribo, 1788).

4. Harlow, *Colonising Expeditions*, pp. 201-6.

5. H. C. Van Renselaar, "Oude Kaarten van Suriname," *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 10 (1966): 2-13. Until the publication of his article there had been no discussion in print of Map 38. A drastically reduced reproduction of it was included as plate 3. Correspondence with Mr. Van Renselaar in 1961 and 1962 was helpful in the compilation of this commentary.

that period, one of which is Map 38. Oriented with the south at the top, it shows the plantations along the Surinam River, its tributary the Commewijne, and the smaller creeks, giving the names of many of the planters. The word "Sinnagouge" (found near the center of the map between the main river and "Black Creek") records the presence of a Jewish congregation, whose members were of considerable importance among the Surinam colonists. Some of them were refugees from Brazil, where they had become experienced in operating sugar plantations. In 1665 they were accorded privileges not usually given to Jews elsewhere in the English possessions and were permitted to build a synagogue.³ Also shown on the map is the fort at Paramaribo, and this is connected with the date of the content of the map. From the full report of William Byam, governor of the colony under Lord Willoughby, it is known that the work of building this fort was begun in June 1666 and was still incomplete when the Dutch fleet arrived in the river in February of the following year.⁴

The copyist of this manuscript was of professional caliber, and he was almost certainly a Dutchman. This is apparent from the script used for names and from some of the spellings; for instance, although the words *creek*, *point*, and *river* are used, indicating that he was copying from an English original, in one case he uses the spelling "Rivier"; he also uses "Muller" for Millard, "Pauwels" for Powells, and "Davenport" for Davenport. It has been suggested that this Dutch copy of an English map was made in Holland not long after the 1667 conquest.⁵

How a Dutch manuscript came to be in the atlas is a question that cannot be answered from the documents. It should be remembered, however, that Blathwayt's first position in the public service was as a clerk in the embassy of Charles II at The Hague from 1668 to January 1672. As a minor official the young man had, of course, nothing to do with policy, nor did he often deal with important matters, but on at least one occasion a royal communication to the States-General was transmitted by the secretary of state through Blathwayt's hands. "It relates," wrote the secretary, "to the matter of Surinam, where the Estates General their orders were not well observed by their Governor Leichtenbergh in the point of

transporting our people from thence.”⁶ It would not have been at all out of character for Blathwayt to have procured the map for his own information concerning an important issue in Anglo-Dutch affairs. The map could equally well, of course, have come to the Plantations Office in the years following the Dutch conquest in connection with any one of the long series of discussions concerning Surinam and the removal of the English planters to other colonies.

Map 38 is one of three surviving versions of the map, the other two being English. One of them is an unsigned manuscript on vellum in the John Carter Brown Library, drawn in ink and colors in the style of the Thames school (see Introduction), *A Discription of the Coleny of Surranam in Guiana Drawne in the yeare: 1667*. A recent discussion of this manuscript gives the impression that it was also a part of the Blathwayt Atlas.⁷ It is, however, a separate map. First described as lot 54 in the catalogue of an auction at Puttick and Simpson's on 10 December 1883, it was purchased at that time for John Nicholas Brown by his London agent. There are additions to this map in ink in a seventeenth-century hand, which include soundings, shoals, anchorages, and sailing directions.⁸ The presence of several additional names and improved topography in this manuscript may indicate that it predates Map 38.⁹

The third version is an engraved map of uncertain date, measuring 40.5 by 29.5 centimeters, *A New Draught of Surranam upon the coast of Guianna Made and Sold by John Thornton Hydrographer at the signe of England Scotland and Ireland in the Minories London*.¹⁰ The date of publication was certainly after 1667 and probably after 1673, the earliest date so far found for an engraved map by Thornton. An appropriate time for the publication of such a map would have been 1674 or 1675, when an expedition was sent out from England to resettle some of the English planters who had been unable to leave immediately after the Dutch conquest. After 1675 English interest in Surinam diminished, so that Thornton would have had less and less reason for publishing a map showing the colony as it had existed in 1667.

Although all three versions of the map represent a situation that existed prior to the arrival of the Dutch in February

6. Jacobsen, *Blathwayt*, p. 75.

7. Van Renselaar, “Oude Kaarten,” pp. 2-4.

8. These, as well as the title, were not included in the small reproduction, made from a redrawing, used to illustrate Johanna Felhoen Kraal, “Emily Hahn's Boek over Aphra Behn, Romantiek en Feiten,” *West-Indische Gids* 32 (1951): 143-53. This article contains a transcription of all the place names and other matter, with discussion of several of the names as well as useful references.

A photographic reproduction of the map was made for inclusion by Dr. Ir. Cornelis Koeman as plate 7 in his facsimile atlas, *Links with the Past: The History of the Cartography of Suriname*, announced for publication in 1974 by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Amsterdam.

9. C. Koeman to J. D. Black, 22 December 1971.

10. Copies are in the British Museum and the John Carter Brown Library. Dr. Koeman, in *Bibliography of Printed Maps of Suriname 1671-1971* (Amsterdam, 1973), no. 3, reports copies also in the Nederlandsch Historisch Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam, and in the Maritiem Museum “Prins Hendrik,” Rotterdam, the last formerly in the private collection of Dr. K. Vaandrager.

1667, they vary in the addition and subtraction of names of plantations, as well as in other details, so that no one of them can be considered a copy of another. The survival of as many as three versions indicates there must have been other manuscripts in circulation at the time, possibly a considerable number. A close study of the names on these three maps, comparing them with those on Map 39, coordinated with research in surviving documents in English and Dutch, can provide valuable information concerning the population of the colony in its English period.

Map 39

*Caerte ofte vertooninge vande Riuieren van Suriname en com-
mewijne met verscheyde Creken uyt deselve spruijende als Para
Surinoo en cotteca ende Ander meer gelyck die nu tegen woordich
bewoont verden [Amsterdam?] Anno 1671*

Engraved, 51.7 x 41 cm (plate mark). Watermark, a fleur-
de-lis within a scroll-work shield, unidentified

The Dutch conquest of Surinam in 1667 gave rise to disputes between England and Holland that became one of the causes of the third Anglo-Dutch war, of 1672-74. An important point at issue was the interpretation of terms of the capitulation agreement between William Byam, the English governor of the colony for the proprietor, Francis, Lord Willoughby, and the Dutch admiral Abraham Crijnsen. The conditions under which the English settlers were to be allowed to remove to other colonies, seemingly not excessively harsh, were interpreted by the new Dutch governors so strictly that numbers of the planters were unable to comply with the requirements. Although a large number of the English left in 1667 and 1668 to go to Antigua and Jamaica, many more were detained in Surinam. The Treaty of Westminster in 1674, at the termination of the war, stipulated that the English government could provide transportation for the settlers who wanted to go either home to England or to another colony, and a commission was dispatched with three transports and a naval vessel to carry out the removal. The expedition, headed by Edward Cranfield, was arranged by the Plantations Committee in cooperation with the Admiralty and is the subject of a large number of documents in the *Calendar of State Papers* for the years 1674 through 1676.

Under the circumstances, it is not surprising to find that the Lords of Trade possessed Map 39, the first Dutch map of Surinam, printed in 1671. The place of publication and the names of the publisher and engraver are not stated. This

1. Jacobsen, *Blathwayt*, chap. 3. See also the commentary on Map 38.

2. Most of the information concerning this map is from H. C. Van Renselaar, "Oude Kaarten van Suriname," *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 10 (1966): 2-13 (with a greatly reduced reproduction, pl. 4), and from Baron F. E. Mulert, "De Eerste uit Nederland naar Suriname Gezonden Landmeters," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2d ser., 29 (1912): 316-19, and 30 (1913): 38-44.

copy was folded three times, suggesting that it may at one time have been enclosed with a letter, which may have come to the Plantations Office through official channels. It is also possible that Blathwayt acquired the map for his own use about the time of its publication, when he was living in The Hague as secretary to the English ambassador.¹

This Dutch map provides an illuminating comparison with Map 38 because it contains the names of the planters living in the colony four years after the Dutch conquest. In addition it provides economic information by distinguishing those plantations where sugar mills were operated. Obviously the population had diminished considerably, and comparatively few Dutch had arrived to take the place of the English. Plantations along the main river were still numerous, but there were not so many on the more remote creeks and tributaries, perhaps because the new owners feared another English attack and hoped that proximity to the fort at Paramaribo would give them protection.²

Map 39 was almost undoubtedly made by a Dutch surveyor, Willem Mogge, who was sent out in 1667 in the same ship that carried the news of the Treaty of Breda, by which Surinam was assigned to the Dutch. The ship went first to Cayenne before going on to Surinam. In the meantime an English expedition under Sir John Harman had retaken the colony, and another fleet sent out from Barbados removed a large group of English colonists, destroying many of the plantations and sugar mills and removing their equipment. By the time Mogge arrived and the new Dutch regime was established, the circumstances of the colony were greatly changed. It must have been well into the year 1668 before the surveyor was able to start carrying out his instructions, a copy of which fortunately has been preserved in the archives of Zeeland, in Middelburg. These were very specific: as soon as possible after his arrival he was to make a map of all Surinam, showing the rivers, forts, plantations, sugar mills, woods, and anything else of significance; he was also to make a separate plan of the fort, which had been renamed Zeelandia, as well as plans of the confiscated plantations; in addition, he was to act as the official government surveyor.

For these services he was to receive a salary of thirty gulden a month, in addition to his rations, for twelve months from the date of his departure from Holland, and he was allowed to augment his income by making surveys for private individuals. At the end of his year of service he was to be free to settle in the colony and carry on his occupation there, or to go to Tobago or elsewhere.³ The reference to Tobago in this connection suggests that Willem Mogge was the "Mr. Mogge" who was mentioned several years earlier as being surveyor of the Dutch colony on that island, where he had a plantation adjoining the governor's.⁴ Apparently he chose to remain in Surinam, because the name "Mogge" is to be found on Map 39 some distance up the Commewijne River, possibly not in a choice location and certainly without a sugar mill.

No other example of this map has been located in America. A copy is in the Maritiem Museum "Prins Hendrik," Rotterdam, formerly in the collection of Dr. K. Vaandrager. A copy once in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, was destroyed by fire in 1931 in Paris, where it had been on exhibition in the Dutch colonial pavilion at the World's Fair.

The *Caerte ofte vertooninge* was revised and reissued in 1677, the last figure of the date being changed on the plate to a "7." A decorated cartouche was engraved to surround the title and scale of miles, and other decorative features were added, showing planters, people making sugar, Indians, trees, animals, and ships. These additions give the impression of having been copied from drawings made from life. It is possible that they are a pictorial record of Surinam in the early Dutch period.

Although some names of plantations were added to the plate in the course of its revision, it still contains the names of ten English planters who left the colony with the Cranfield expedition of 1675. The map cannot, therefore, be considered an up-to-date revision but rather seems to represent the situation as it existed in 1671-75, perhaps not long after 1671. No publisher or place of publication was added, and no attribution has been suggested. The only copy of the 1677 revision now known is in the Maritiem Museum "Prins

3. The instructions are quoted in full in Mulert, "De Eerste uit Nederland," 29 (1912): 318-19.

4. Charles de Rochefort, *Le Tableau de l'Isle de Tabago* (Leiden, 1665), p. 92.

5. Koeman, *Atlantes*, 4: 168–69, Don 23, no. 103. In 1971 Dr. Koeman reported a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and others in four libraries in the Netherlands. It was discussed by Van Renselaar in “Oude Kaarten.” In 1961, through the courtesy of Mr. Van Renselaar, photostatic copies were obtained of the two maps here mentioned that are not in the John Carter Brown Library’s collection. This commentary was completed prior to the publication of Dr. Koeman’s *Bibliography of Printed Maps of Suriname, 1671–1971* (Amsterdam, 1973) and his facsimile atlas, *Links with the Past: The History of the Cartography of Suriname*, announced for publication in 1974 by Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Amsterdam, but he kindly read drafts of the commentaries on Maps 38 and 39, and made several helpful suggestions.

6. Koeman, *Atlantes*, 1: 227, Bl 56, vol. 11, no. 19. The plate was used earlier by Blaeu in Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per Octennium in Brasilia* (Amsterdam, 1647).

Hendrik,” Rotterdam (formerly in the private collection of Dr. K. Vaandrager).

A map based on Mogge’s map is *Paskaert Van de Rivieren van Suriname em Commewyne Met verschyde Creken uyt de Selve Spruytende als Para Surinoo en Cotteca Ende Ander meer gelyck die nu Tegenwoordich bewoonwerde*, which was published “t’Amsterdam By Hendrick Doncker Inde Nieubrugsteeg.”⁵ It has no date of publication. Decorations used on the map include a sugar mill and several buildings. The picture of the mill is merely a simplified version, with the image reversed, of the one on the map “Praefectura Paranambucæ Pars Borealis, una cum Praefectura de Itâmaracâ” in volume 11 of Joan Blaeu’s *Atlas Maior* (1662),⁶ and has no relation to Surinam.

Map 40

Accuratissima Brasiliae Tabula. Amstelodami Joannes Janssonius excudit. [1650 or later]

Engraved, 37.7 x 48.5 cm

Map 40 is one of the group of Dutch maps in the atlas based on the maps prepared in 1625 by Hessel Gerritsz to illustrate Joannes de Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (see commentary on Map 37). The outlines and place names follow closely the map in that volume entitled "'T landt van Brasil met de aengelegene Provincien." A few additions, however, characterize this version, which was first engraved by Henricus Hondius, probably in 1630. Some decorative features are shown in the interior, as well as the courses of some rivers, and a few lakes, most of them obviously conjectural. The two small insets showing Bahia de Todos os Santos and Olinda de Pernambuco reflect Dutch expeditions to Brazil. Bahia (now Salvador) was attacked by the Dutch in 1624, and Olinda was captured in March 1630. The original view from which the second inset was engraved, showing the Dutch fleet at Olinda, could not have been received in Holland until sometime after that date. This recent material was added to a map with considerably earlier geographical content.

The earliest atlas with which the map is associated, according to Dr. Koeman, is the *Atlantis Maioris Appendix* of 1630, brought out by Joannes Janssonius in cooperation with Hondius. This volume contains the map in its first state, with "Henricus Hondius excudit" in the imprint cartouche.¹ At a later time Janssonius removed the name of Henricus Hondius and substituted his own, possibly about the time of the death of the latter in 1650. Map 40 is in this second state, which was used by Janssonius in editions of his *Novus Atlas* published during the following decade.²

1. Koeman, *Atlantes*, 2: 351, Me 31A, no. 75. The insets listed and diagram given with no. 74 belong properly with no. 75.

2. For instance, Koeman, *Atlantes*, 2: 446, Me 116, a copy of which is in the John Carter Brown Library.

Map 41

1. Koeman, *Atlantes*,
2: 351, Me 31A, no. 74.
The insets and diagram
included in the listing
relate not to this map but
to no. 75, which follows.
See also text in *ibid.*, pp.
344–46.

2. For example, see
ibid., p. 506, Me 184.

*Paraguay, ó Prov. de Rio de la Plata cum regionibus adiacentibus
Tucuman et Sta. Cruz de la Sierra. Amstelodami, Excudebat
Ioannes Ianssonius. [1630–66]*

Engraved, 37.3 x 48 cm

Map 41 is another of the Dutch engraved maps of South American areas in the atlas that were based on the maps prepared in 1625 by Hessel Gerritsz to illustrate Joannes de Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (see commentary on Map 37). It is identical in geographical content with Gerritsz's map of Paraguay, and the engraver even followed closely the design of the cartouche of the earlier map.

Jodocus Hondius the younger engraved a number of separate maps before 1629, among them a copy of the Gerritsz map of Paraguay on a somewhat enlarged scale. After his death in that year the plates were sold to Willem Janszoon Blaeu. In 1630, however, Hondius's successors—his son Henricus and his son-in-law Joannes Janssonius—planned to publish an atlas for which they needed some of the same maps, and it was necessary for them to order new plates engraved. Evert Symontsz Hamersvelt and Salomon Rogiers, of Amsterdam, were employed to do the work, but only the name of Janssonius as publisher appears on this plate, which was included in his *Atlantis Maioris Appendix, Sive Pars Altera* in 1630.¹ Janssonius used the plate unchanged for numerous atlases throughout his lifetime, and after his death in 1664 his heirs included the map in at least one more atlas, in 1666.²

Map 42

A New Mapp of Magellan Straights Discovered by Capt: John Narbrough. (Coñander then of his Majesties ship the Sweepstakes.) as he sayled through the sade Straights By John Thornton John Seller William Fisher James Atkinson John Colson.
[London, ca. 1680]

Engraved, 42.8 x 53.7 cm. Watermark similar to Heawood 1514 (and to the mark in Map 4), but with an additional line of lettering in the countermark, not deciphered

Inscriptions on reverse: *Maryland* [in Blathwayt's hand]
Barbados [possibly in Blathwayt's hand]

Although the voyage of Sir John Narborough to South America in 1669–71 was of great interest to his contemporaries, it has been given little attention by historians because it failed to achieve its main objective of opening up trade with the natives of the west coast of South America on the fringe of the Spanish colonial empire. On board Narborough's ship, the *Sweepstakes*, were trading goods "to the value of three hundred pounds . . . to trade with the Natives, at his Majesty's Charge."¹ The ship negotiated the passage of the Strait of Magellan, but Narborough had to turn back when Spanish officials at Valdivia, on the coast of Chile, not only prevented any trading activities but kept four of his men prisoner. Diplomatic representations were made later through the Spanish ambassador in London in an unsuccessful attempt to gain their freedom, and in 1672 the Plantations Committee was apprised of correspondence on the subject.² These negotiations took place before Narborough's map was published, and it seems likely that Map 42, which is in a state printed about 1680, was acquired by the Plantations Office for the sake of its general information on southern South America and the Strait of Magellan rather than in connection with any specific problem. In spite of Narborough's failure, the region was still considered a scene of possible future

1. John Narborough, "A Journal," in *An Account of Several Late Voyages & Discoveries* (London, 1694), p. 2. For a discussion of the purposes of the voyage, see Helen Wallis, "English Enterprise in the Region of the Strait of Magellan" in *Merchants & Scholars: Essays in the History of Exploration and Trade Collected in Memory of James Ford Bell*, ed. John Parker (Minneapolis, 1965), pp. 210–14.

2. CSP/AWI, 30 October 1672, no. 950.

3. Narborough, "Journal," p. 71.

4. "Captain Wood's Voyage Through the Streights of Magellan, &c." in *A Collection of Original Voyages . . . Published by Capt William Hacke* (London, 1699), pp. 56-100. For Wood, see also the commentary on Map 2. For Collins, see A. H. W. Robinson, *Marine Cartography in Britain* (Leicester, 1962), index entries.

5. John Green [born Bradock Mead], *Remarks in Support of the New Chart of North and South America* (London, 1753), p. 34.

6. Florence E. Dyer, *The Life of Admiral Sir John Narbrough* (London, 1931), p. 93.

7. *BMMs Maps*, 3:449; R. A. Skelton, "The Hydrographic Collections of the British Museum," *Journal of the Institute of Navigation* 9 (1956), no. 3, p. 329.

colonial or trading activity. The inscriptions on the reverse side of the map suggest that before it was placed in the atlas it may have been bound with some other collection of maps, placed between maps of Maryland and Barbados. There is nothing, however, to indicate whether or not this collection was an earlier grouping of maps in the Plantations Office.

The achievement of Narborough's expedition lay chiefly in the information he brought back and in the cartographical record of the voyage. In his journal he wrote: "for a more exact Situation of the several Promontories, Bays, Ports, Rivulets, Soundings &c. I refer the Reader to the large Draught of the Magellan Streights, drawn by my own Hand on the place."³ In the charting of the voyage Narborough had expert assistants, whose work probably contributed to the quality of the results. His mate was John Wood, later a member of the Royal Society and leader of an expedition in search of a northeast passage, and the sailing master of the *Sweepstakes* was Greenville Collins, who was later chosen to chart the coasts of England.⁴ As late as 1753 Narborough's journal and chart were still being referred to, and they commanded the respect of the geographer John Green, who wrote that for the area they covered they "must be allowed to be for the general very accurate."⁵

Six months after Narborough's ship returned to London, he was appointed to the duke of York's flagship in the Mediterranean, and before he took up his command in January 1672, he turned over his "large draughts" to the duke's secretary.⁶ No manuscript in his hand survives, but there is a magnificent chart in the British Museum made by one of the practitioners of the Thames school (see Introduction) and entitled, "The Land of Patagona &c. The draught of Magellan Straits drawn by Captain John Narbrough, anno 1670, on board His Majesti's Shipp Sweepstaks, as I pased and repased the Straits." It is extremely large—over six feet long—and is decorated with sketches of natives, their houses, weapons, and boats, as well as animals, undoubtedly copied from drawings made on the voyage. This manuscript was formerly in one of the royal collections,⁷ but it is not known whether it was made for Narborough to be delivered to the duke of York's secretary or whether it was copied afterwards for the king himself.

There is another manuscript, also in the British Museum, which is about half as large but contains almost all of the same information. It, too, is in the Thames school style, but it is on paper and is decidedly less magnificent and rather less skillfully executed. The hand of this second manuscript can be identified as that of the anonymous craftsman who produced Blathwayt Maps 16, 17, and 20. It is very similar to that of some parts of the larger map, but since there seems to have been more than one hand involved in the latter, the relationship is not completely clear. The lesser manuscript was once in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, but its original ownership is not known.

Narborough's map in its engraved form was advertised in April 1673 as available for purchase at the shops of John Thornton and James Atkinson (see description of state 1, below). The advertisement does not suggest that any text accompanied the map, and as far as is known, the captain's journal of the voyage did not appear in print until 1694, and John Wood's journal not until 1699. It is puzzling, therefore, to find a Spanish writer, Francisco de Seixas y Lovera, referring in 1690 to a "relacion" of the voyage as well as to "Derrotas Australes," which he says were by "Juan Templemant" and printed in England in 1673.⁸ The transformation of John Thornton's name into "Juan Templemant" is no more startling than the spelling of the name of the *Sweepstakes* as "Sueete Estogyes," which also occurs in the text and for which either the Spanish writer or the compositor could have been responsible. The "relacion" may possibly have been a manuscript copy of the journal that somehow came into the hands of Seixas, an experienced navigator who had traveled in various parts of the world. "Derrotas," which usually means *routes*, or *courses*, could have been used in reference to a map. There is no explanation, however, for the date of 1673 (correct for the publication of the map although it does not appear on it) being known to Seixas, who was not usually so specific in his numerous references to other writers on navigation. Without further evidence his statements cannot be taken to mean that a text accompanied the map when it was published.

Map 42, the third state of the map, carries the imprint of

8. James Burney, in *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean*, 5 vols. (London, 1803-17), 3: 317, 323 n., and 348 n., indicated his awareness of the reference to "Templemant," and he was confused by it, because he knew only the version of Narborough's map that accompanied the 1694 publication of his journal. Actually Seixas y Lovera referred to Narborough's voyage in two books, *Theatro Naval Hydrographico* (Madrid, 1688), fol. 57, and *Description Geographica, y Derrotero de la Region Austral Magellanica* (Madrid, 1690), fols. 59v and 82v. The references are obscure because of the prominence given to the name of "Carlos Enrique Clerck," a mysterious Spaniard or Portuguese called "Don Carolus" by Narborough, who sailed on the voyage and disappointed the captain when it turned out he knew nothing of the route. He went ashore near Valdivia, ostensibly to trade with the Indians, and did not return. In 1682 Clerck was executed in Lima as a French spy, having used various aliases in the intervening years (see Juan Luis López, *Decission de la Real Audiencia de Los Reyes. En Favor de la Regalia . . . en la Causa de Oliberos Belin, Llamado Comunmente Don Carlos Clerque* [Lima, 1682], pp. 1 and 24-25, listed as no. 533 in J. T. Medina, *La Imprenta en Lima* [Santiago de Chile, 1904]). Seixas, however, also refers to Clerck as the

man who duped (engañó) the king of England. It seems likely that the Spanish author had further information about this obscure cloak-and-dagger figure (and perhaps also about the voyage) from a source not now known.

9. Coolie Verner, introduction to facsimile of *The English Pilot. The Fourth Book*, London, 1689 (Amsterdam, 1967).

10. Thomas Birch, *The History of the Royal Society* . . . , 4 vols. (London, 1756-57), 4:29.

the "combine" of five map publishers who in 1676 or 1677 took over the publication of John Seller's atlases and maps.⁹ On 25 March 1680, at a meeting of the Royal Society, "upon mention of the maps of the Straits of Magellan, it was related that sir John Narborough's map thereof was printing."¹⁰ This could refer to the third state of this map, or possibly to the fourth state, with an imprint in which only the name of John Thornton was retained.

States of the Map

1. [1673]—The imprint following the title reads: "Made and sold by John Thornton Hydrographer at ye signe of England Scotland & Ireland in ye Minories & by James Atkinson Mathematical Instrument maker on ye East side of S. Saveris Dock over against the Griffin and at his shop at Cherry Garden stairs." The names "C Quad" and "Royall road" are not on the plate, but have been added in ink on the copy examined. An advertisement for the map with this imprint is in the *London Gazette*, 31 March-3 April 1673—British Museum, Maps 24.e.28 (117)
2. [1673]—"C Quad," in the strait near longitude 289°, and "Royal road," below the compass rose, have been added to the plate—British Museum (2 copies); John Carter Brown Library, in John Seller, *Atlas Terrestris*, [ca. 1676?]
3. [Ca. 1680]—The imprint has been erased and the following substituted: "By John Thornton Iohn Seller William Fisher James Atkinson Iohn Colson." This could be the state referred to at the March 1680 meeting of the Royal Society—British Museum; William L. Clements Library; John Carter Brown Library, Blathwayt Map 42
4. [1680 or later]—The imprint has been erased except for Thornton's name and changed to read: "By John

Thornton Hydrographer at the Platt in the Minories London." This state, rather than state 3, may be the one that was in process in March 1680——British Museum (3 copies); Public Record Office; Library of Congress (3 copies); Huntington Library

Another version of the map, engraved by John Sturt, closely following the original plate but with some added legends, illustrated the publication of Narborough's journal in 1694. Its highly decorative cartouche contains a dedication to Samuel Pepys of "This Mapp of the Streights of Magellan Drawn by Sr Ion. Narbrough" by the publishers, Samuel Smith and Benjamin Walford.

Map 43

1. Add. Ms. 9767.

[Bombay Harbor. 1678?]

Manuscript, on vellum, in ink and colors with gold touches,
2 sheets joined, 52 x 125.5 cm

Additions and corrections in ink, some of which are erased
and repeated in other locations

This manuscript map is in the style of the Thames school (see Introduction) and carries neither signature nor date. Because of its large size it has not been reproduced in color. The palette is close to that used in Map 18, but yellow is used for some large sections of shoreline, including that of the island of Salsette and the southern part of the mainland, a characteristic not duplicated in other Thames school maps in the atlas. The lettering, although similar to that of Map 18, cannot be established as identical. The spelling of place names throughout suggests that the London copyist worked from a Portuguese original.

Additions and corrections in ink, some of them partly erased, are for the most part in a hasty, cursive script. Some of them bear a close resemblance to Blathwayt's writing in his less careful letter drafts. The samples on the map vary, however, and are not sufficiently numerous to allow a positive judgment as to identity of hand.

For the quarter ending 29 September 1678 the Plantations Office recorded a payment of £8 18s. for "Ten Maps of the East Indies drawn by hand, and several Maps of the West Indies, as per account."¹ Although the entry is not specific, it seems likely that this map of the island and port of Bombay was one of the ten maps of "the East Indies." In the same month Robert Hooke, secretary of the Royal Society, recorded in his diary that he had visited the house of Sir Robert Southwell and had seen his "Portuguese mapps of the East India." Later that day, September 12, a group of members of the society met at Man's Coffee House and had "much good

discourse Sir R. Southwell's mapps."² This suggests that there was some connection between Southwell's maps and those copied for the Plantations Office. He may have had Portuguese originals, or perhaps his maps were a duplicate set of copies.

The occasion for the use of Map 43 in the business of the Plantations Office may be found in a prolonged Anglo-Portuguese dispute concerning Bombay and its harbor.

2. *The Diary of Robert Hooke, 1672-1680*, ed. Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams (London, 1935), p. 376.

The Bombay Dispute

When Charles II married Catherine of Braganza in 1662, Bombay, Tangier, and a large sum of money constituted her dowry. Her father, the Portuguese king, was willing to pay a price to gain English military support in his struggle to maintain his independence from Spain, but there was no enthusiasm for the cession of territory on his part or on the part of his subjects in India. Bombay was the first piece of Far Eastern soil to come under the sovereignty of England, although the East India Company had been active commercially since the days of Queen Elizabeth and had struggled with varying degrees of success to compete with the Portuguese and Dutch trading interests. The commercial aims of the East India Company paralleled those of some of the American colonial companies, several of which were promoted by the same energetic English merchants.

Resistance by the Portuguese in Bombay to the English take-over of the promising but undeveloped harbor took various forms short of actual hostilities. The English force sent to occupy the island was prevented from landing for three years, and the Portuguese continued systematically to make the situation difficult and unprofitable even after 1668, when the king turned over the administration of Bombay to the East India Company. The disputes produced great quantities of documents—letters, memorials, protests, petitions.

From the legal point of view the issues centered on the interpretation of the marriage treaty of 23 June 1661, which ceded "the Port and Island of Bombay in the East Indies,

3. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, "Anglo Portuguese Negotiations Relating to Bombay 1660-1677," *Journal of Indian History*, 3d ser. (September 1922; reprinted separately, Oxford University Press, [1922]), p. 513. This work contains the text of numerous relevant documents, drawn chiefly from the Public Record Office, C.O.77.

4. Southwell was voted a present of 100 guineas "for his great care in drawing up the case" (*A Calendar of the Court Minutes . . . of the East India Company 1677-1679* [Oxford, 1938], p. 39, under date of 24 April 1677).

5. Khan, "Anglo Portuguese Negotiations," pp. 516-17 (C.O.77, vol. 13, fol. 125). An anonymous Portuguese map of Bombay of the period before the cession to England is in the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, according to Armando Cortesão and A. Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (Lisbon, 1960), 5:120. No reproduction is available, and it is impossible to say whether or not it has any connection with the lost map or with Map 43.

with all the rights, territories, and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging; and together with the income and revenue, the direct, full and absolute dominion and sovereignty of the said port, island, and premises."³ The question was, what constituted the "Port"—was it merely the landing-place for ships or did it also include the enclosed waters with their several islands, without which Bombay had no useful harbor? The issue was later complicated by an agreement of 1665 that mentioned only the island of Bombay.

From the practical point of view the disagreements arose chiefly from the levying of "customs," or tribute, by the Portuguese at some of the narrow tidal passages between the islands and the mainland. The commercial impact of these charges and the East India Company's inability to force their discontinuance led to an appeal to the crown for diplomatic assistance in settling the dispute by direct negotiation with the Portuguese home government. Before acting on the appeal the king referred the matter for advice to the Committee of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, and the company retained Sir Robert Southwell, a clerk of the Privy Council who had recently given up the secretaryship of the Plantations Office, to handle the presentation of their case.⁴ He and Blathwayt, his successor in the office, were both involved in dealing with the matter.

The Lost Portuguese Map

With characteristic thoroughness Southwell made a search for all pertinent documents, going back to the negotiation of the 1661 treaty, and he was concerned because he was unable to find an important map:

In order to redress Injuries complained of by the East India Company received at Bombain your Lordships directed inquiry to bee made first for the Map presented by the Portugal Ambassador when that place was offered in the Treaty, which Map would certainly have cleared up the point in question. . . . As for the Map, neither by the

Lord Clarendon, who has made search of it, nor Sir William Morrice, then Secretary of State, who acknowledged the Receipt of a Small box of Plantation papers from the old Lord Clarendon at his Departure, nor by Sir Philip Warwick, who lived with the Earl of Southampton at the time the Council sate at the Earls house, and that the said Map was there exposed, can any manner of Tydings bee had thereof.⁵

This passage reflects the frustrations inherent in an evolving bureaucracy, and it also suggests the probable reason for the loss of the map, that is, it was "exposed" at a meeting of the council, probably pasted on cloth, perhaps in a frame. Time and again the survival of a map has been jeopardized by this kind of special treatment.

A scholar who had studied in detail the long and involved Anglo-Portuguese negotiations concerning Bombay expressed surprise that no other map was used instead: "The Company must have possessed an old map of Bombay. . . much more surprising is the failure of the Government to procure another copy, or some other map of Bombay."⁶

Later reports and communications, however, show that the company and the Lords of Trade did have a map, or maps, to work with, although the one Portuguese map that could have established the intention of the negotiators of 1661 was irretrievably lost. The company's representation of 12 February 1677, which Southwell assisted in drawing up, speaks of consulting "the ancient writeings and descriptions of the Portuguezes and particularly a Survey taken by Order of the Vice Roy of Goa about 1636."⁷ One of the company's later memorials, in discussing the Portuguese claim to the islands of the bay, says: "So that tis but looking on the Map, and it will appear that their own Capitulation does condemn them."⁸

Of the dozen or more names added in ink in a cursive hand to Map 43, most are of local features and obscure places that are mentioned in the sections devoted to geographical description in the representation of 12 February 1677, and the spellings are usually identical. Although these names are not written in Southwell's hand, their presence suggests strongly

6. Khan, "Anglo Portuguese Negotiations," p. 512.

7. Ibid., p. 532 (C.O.77, vol. 13, fol. 168). In 1635 Antônio Bocarro, keeper of the archives and chronicler for the Portuguese viceroy, made an official survey and report to the king on his establishments in India. The text was illustrated by numerous maps and plans, including one of Bombay, by Pedro Barreto de Rezende. Two copies were sent home to Portugal and numerous others made later. A study of the several surviving manuscripts is in Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta*, 5: 59-85, and pls. 575-91. One of these manuscripts, now in the British Museum (Sloane Ms. 197), has on its first page the name of Francis Parry, the British ambassador to Portugal from 1676 to 1680. This may well have been the document referred to in the passage quoted.

8. Khan, "Anglo Portuguese Negotiations," p. 544 (C.O.77, vol. 13, fol. 252).

9. Among the names added in ink to Map 43 that are mentioned in the report of 12 February 1677, are: Sevine, Nevine, Vessava, Murr, Bulwarke of the Sea, Baragon, Galianya, Belgrado, and Sabajo.

10. Sir William Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1661-1664: A Calendar of Documents* . . . (Oxford, 1923), p. 133. The "Admirall" was James Ley, earl of Marlborough, the commander of the expedition.

that the map was connected with this phase of his work on the East India Company's case.⁹

Early English Maps

The striking characteristic of the early maps of the Bombay area is the great variation in their concept of the shape of the islands and the water passages between them. As can be seen from a modern coastal chart, there are numerous low-lying sections covered by water at high tide. No two of the early maps presented the same version of these shorelines. The problem was of concern as early as 1662 to Captain Arnold Browne of the *Dunkirk*, who took part in the ill-fated expedition that failed to persuade the Portuguese to hand over Bombay. In a letter to Sir George Oxenden, the company's president at Surat, he wrote:

This time of our being here I have, by order of our Admirall, employed in sounding and discovering this island of Bombay; which was most strangely represented to His Majesty our gracious King, with presumption that it conteyned from the bay to the north as farr as the entrance of Bassine, as alsoe to the east all Trombay etc. to the said entrance; but we find it much contrary, for that that space containes three islands distinctly, vizt., Tanna, the northernmost (next to Bassine) which is the biggest: the next to that is Salsett, upon which is the harbour of Trombay, and is a good island: but the island of Bombay lyes not more then nine miles north and south, and narrower east and west, and is about 22 miles in circuite, a faire channell parting it from Salsett. A draught of which I shall make bould to present Your Worship, God sending me to see your face at Surratt.¹⁰

Browne's survey was mentioned again in a letter written to London by a member of the Surat council on 31 December 1662: "If I am not mistaken, Capt. Arnold Browne hath made a draught of all the prementioned places very exactly, which is intended for to bee exposed to His Majesty and His

Highness [the duke of York] att My Lord of Malberoughs returne and arrivall into England."¹¹ The earl of Marlborough sailed in Browne's ship from Surat to London, where he arrived in June 1663, probably carrying with him the map. Nothing further is known of its history, and the only clues to its appearance and content are the statements in Browne's letter.

In the Bibliothèque Nationale there is a manuscript in the style of the Thames school, *A Draught of Bombay Described by John Seller Hydrographer to the Kings most Excellent Majestie*.¹² No date has been suggested for the survey, and Seller may have made his copy at any time in the 1670s or 1680s. The chart contains only fifteen place names, but it shows the harbor, with soundings, as far south as Chaul, although to the north it includes only a small part of Salsette Island. The part of Bombay Island shown as water on Map 43 appears as dry land on Seller's manuscript. It is not impossible that this chart was derived from the "draught" made by Arnold Browne, although there is no evidence available to support a positive connection. Apparently there was never an engraved version of this Seller map.

Another member of the Thames school, Andrew Welch, signed a "Drawing of the Island of Bombay, with the Shoals and Soundings 1674." It was still in existence a century later, when it was entered in a manuscript list of maps belonging to the estate of the cartographic publisher Thomas Jefferys.¹³ Whether this map survives today is not known.

William Hack, a onetime apprentice to Andrew Welch, produced manuscript atlases containing large-scale charts of the harbors and coasts of the Far East. The charts of Bombay harbor and the surrounding coast show no significant resemblance to Map 43, or to the John Seller manuscript, and they are apparently of a later period, probably the last decade of the seventeenth century.¹⁴

Finally, an engraved chart of Bombay harbor appeared in John Thornton's 1703 *English Pilot. The Third Book*.¹⁵ "A New Mapp of the Island of Bombay and Sallset," which was dedicated by Thornton to the officers of the East India Company, is from a survey quite different from any represented in the known manuscripts and contains considerable detail

11. Ibid., p. 143.

12. Archives du Service Hydrographique de la Marine, portefeuille 207, div. 8, pièce 1 (photocopy in the John Carter Brown Library).

13. "Catalogue of Drawings & Engraved Maps, Charts & Plans; the Property of Mr. Thomas Jefferys; Geographer to the King 1775," fol. 7, pt. 1. The Royal Geographical Society (xero-graphic copy in the John Carter Brown Library).

14. Phillips, *Atlases*, 3162: a similar manuscript atlas is in the British Museum, K. Mar. vi.

15. Reprinted in facsimile, Amsterdam, 1970, with an introduction by Coolie Verner and R. A. Skelton. No manuscript of Bombay by Thornton is recorded, although charts of other Far Eastern areas made by him are discussed by Monique de la Roncière in "Manuscript Charts by John Thornton, Hydrographer of the East India Company (1669-1701)," *Imago Mundi* 19 (1965): 46-50.

which is closely coordinated with a section of the text headed "Thwart marks to Sail into Bombay and find the Sunken-Rock." Both the sailing directions and the chart were probably the work of a pilot in the service of the company.

Map 44

A Chart of the Seacoasts from the Landsend of England to Cape Bona Esperanca By John Seller Hydrographer to the King Illustrissimo Gubernatori, Progubernatori, Subgubernatori, Assistentium Curiae, Reliquisque Membris honoratissimae Societatis mercaturam Sortialem ex Anglia in Africam regifice facientium jure venerandis Tabulam hanc maritimam L.M. D.C.Q. Iohannes Seller [London, ca. 1672-75]

Engraved, colored, 43.3 x 54.3 cm. Two watermarks, with countermarks, can be discerned because the map was pasted down on a plain sheet of paper and trimmed at some time before it was attached to its stub in the atlas. Both watermarks belong to the group described in Edward Heawood, "Papers Used in England after 1600: Part I," *Library*, 4th ser., 11, no. 3 (December 1930): 274 and fig. 28.

1. The two states in the British Museum collection are recorded in R. V.

Tooley, *Maps of Africa*, Part 2, Map Collectors' Circle, no. 48 (1968), p. 89.

2. "Account of the Limits and Trade of the Royal African Company," CSP/AWI, [1672?], no. 936. For the history of the company, see Kenneth G. Davies, *The Royal African Company* (London, 1957).

Map 44 was inserted in the atlas after the "List of Maps" was made up. It is in the second of four states of the plate, which are differentiated below.¹

The map was designed to show the west coast of Africa with its trading centers and its geographical relationship to the British Isles. In 1672 the Royal African Company, to whom the map was dedicated, received a second charter from Charles II, renewing its trading privileges, which extended from Salee in Morocco to the Cape of Good Hope. The African trade included ivory, hides, some dyewoods, copper, and gold, as well as slaves, who were "sent to all his Majesty's American Plantations, which cannot subsist without them."² The labor supply from Africa was important for the sugar-producing islands of the West Indies, especially Jamaica and Barbados, but the company's success was a matter of concern to almost all the colonies. Matters connected with its operations were continually on the agenda of the Lords of Trade, several of whom were also members of the company. The name of Thomas Povey, Blathwayt's

3. CSP/AWI, 27 September 1672, no. 934; 10 January 1663, no. 408.

uncle, who had widespread colonial interests, was also on the list of members.³

Most of the surviving copies of the map are found in John Seller's *Atlas Maritimus*. In many of his atlases he mounted the maps on plain paper before binding them into the volumes. Since Map 44 was subjected to this treatment, it is impossible to say whether it was originally a separate map or was detached from an atlas before it was added to the Blathwayt volume. Although Seller frequently used backing sheets, the practice was not usual among the later English map publishers.

States of the Map

1. [Ca. 1672]—Possibly a proof; blank space for a dedication beneath the arms of the Royal African Company—British Museum, Maps C.8.d.5
2. [Ca. 1672-75]—Has a dedication to the officers and members of the Royal African Company—John Carter Brown Library (2 copies: Blathwayt Map 44 and in Seller, *Atlas Maritimus*, 1675); Library of Congress (Phillips, *Atlases*, 4154, no. 18); Public Record Office
3. [Ca. 1677]—The imprint changed to read, "By J. Seller, W. Fisher, J. Colson, J. Atkinson, J. Thornton"—British Museum, C.8.b.13; Library of Congress (Phillips, *Atlases*, 4151, no. 7); Clements Library
4. [?]⁴—Identical with state 3, except that the quarter compass rose at the lower right has been removed and relocated in a different form—Library of Congress (Phillips, *Atlases*, 4150, no. 7)

Map 45

Guiana siue Amazonum Regio Amstelodami. Ioannes Ianssonius excudit. [1630-66]

Engraved, 37.4 x 48.6 cm

1. Koeman, *Atlantes*,
2: 344-46; *ibid.*, p. 347,
Me 30, no. 9; *ibid.*, p. 351,
Me 31B, no. 74; *ibid.*,
p. 507, Me 185.

This Dutch map of the large and indeterminate region known in the seventeenth century as "Guiana" is another of the group based on maps by Hessel Gerritsz in Joannes de Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt, ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (Leiden, 1625). The corresponding map in that book is entitled "Guaiana, ofte de Provincien tusschen Rio de las Amazonas ende Rio de Yriapari ofte Orinoque." The scale has been enlarged, but the geographical content is the same, with only a few decorative features added (see commentary on Map 37).

Jodocus Hondius engraved a plate of this map, which after his death in 1629 was sold to Willem Janszoon Blaeu. A copy of the plate, therefore, had to be made in 1630 for Henricus Hondius and Joannes Janssonius, who succeeded to the elder Hondius's business of map and atlas publishing (see commentary on Map 41). The copy carries Janssonius's name as publisher and was used first in 1630, in his *Atlantis Maioris Appendix, Sive Pars Altera*, and thereafter, without any changes, at least into the 1660s.¹

Map 46

1. Koeman, *Atlantes*,
2: 384, Me 44, no. 453.

2. Ibid., 1: 96, Bl 6,
no. 206.

3. The omissions are
"C. de S. Roman" off the
coast of Madagascar and
"Zet Mons" next to the
Ae of "Aethiopia."

"Bu:ua" is copied incor-
rectly from "Butua." The
Blaeu and Janssonius
plates are described on
pp. 24 and 48, respectively,
in R. V. Tooley, *Maps of
Africa, Part 1*, Map Collec-
tors' Circle, no. 47 (1968).
The list of variations there
given serves to differen-
tiate the plates but gives
no evidence as to priority.
To reduce confusion, it
should be mentioned that
plate 3 in Tooley's work
reproduces the Janssonius
plate but with a caption
saying it is Blaeu's.

*Aethiopia Inferior, vel Exterior. Partes magis Septentrionales,
quae hic desiderantur, vide in tabula Aethiopiae Superioris.*

[Amsterdam, 1636-70]

Engraved, 38 x 49.5 cm

Maps 46 and 47 were added to the atlas after the list of con-
tents was made up (about 1683), but probably not long after.
They might have been of interest to the Lords of Trade at
any time. Although no part of Africa depicted on these maps
had come under English sovereignty, they show the coasts
where Englishmen had for many years engaged in the slave
trade and maintained factories. The Lords of Trade had
frequent occasion to consider problems relating to the Royal
African Company and its objective of supplying slaves to the
American colonies (see commentary on Map 44).

Map 46 is one of the maps produced in quantity in the
Netherlands during the seventeenth century for use in atlases
as well as for sale separately. Like the other Dutch maps in
the atlas, this was probably a separate, because it has no text
on the back, and its deckle edges were never cut by a binder.
In the earliest recorded appearance of this plate in an atlas, in
1636, a German text was printed on the reverse side. Joannes
Janssonius was responsible for the manufacture of the plate,
and he used it in his *Atlantis Appendix* in that year.¹ The map
is similar to one with the same title and characteristics brought
out in the previous year by Willem Janszoon Blaeu in his
Ander Theil Novi Atlantis.² It seems clear that the Janssonius
plate was copied from that of Blaeu: two inconspicuous
place names were omitted by Janssonius's engraver, and he
made at least one error in copying.³

How long the plate continued in use is uncertain because
new printings made during Janssonius's lifetime would have
required no change in the publication information. What is
apparently the same map, with no text on the back, has been

ascribed to 1670, six years after Janssonius's death.⁴ There seems to be no reason for not accepting this educated guess as a possible date for Map 46.

4. R. V. Tooley, *Printed Maps of Southern Africa and Its Parts*, Map Collectors' Circle, no. 61 (1970), no. 165.

Map 47

1. Nicolas Sanson, *L'Afrique en Plusieurs Cartes*, [Paris, 1683], pp. 53–57; Robert Morden, *Geography Rectified*, 2d ed. (London, 1688), p. 443. Of interest in connection with the delineation of the interior of the continent is the article by W. G. L. Randles, "South-East Africa as Shown on Selected Printed Maps of the Sixteenth Century," *Imago Mundi* 13 (1956): 69–88.

2. Koeman, *Atlantes*, 1: 225, Bl 56, no. 604.

3. *Ibid.*, 2: 444, Me 90B, no. 743; and *ibid.*, pp. 160–62, for information concerning Janssonius's heirs and successors.

Nigritarum Regnum. Amstelodami, Apud Heredes Joannis Janssonii. Reverendissimo, Perillustri et Excellentissimo Domino, Dno. Ottoni L. B. à Schwerin Electoratus ac Marchiae Brandenburgensis Camerario Hereditario, Serenissimo ac Potentissimo Electori Brandenburgico à Consiliis Secretioribus, et status, omniumque Judiciorum summo Praesidi, Ecclesiae Cathedralis quae Brandenburgi est Praeposito, Dno. in Landtsberg Oldenwigshagen et Zachan. Dno. suo munificentissimo D. D. D. Haeredes Joannis Janssonii. [1664–70?]

Engraved, 57 x 43.4 cm

Nigritarum Regnum—or Nigritia, Terre des Nègres, or Negroland—was the name given in the seventeenth century to a large and indefinite area of western Africa that was generally considered to include the valleys of the Senegal and Niger rivers. The interior courses of these rivers, as well as that of the Congo, were not well understood, their exploration and mapping by Europeans being still two centuries in the future. Coastal Africa, on the other hand, had been more or less well known from Portuguese charts as early as the fifteenth century. In addition to Negroland, Map 47 includes the region between the Niger and the Congo, usually referred to at that time as Guinea, as well as Angola to the south.¹

Published by the heirs of Joannes Janssonius, who died in 1664, this map is similar to the plate "Nigritarum Regio," which was used by Joan Blaeu in the various editions of his *Atlas Maior* beginning in 1662.² In contrast to the case of Map 46, however, the plates of the Blaeu and Janssonius firms for this area are sufficiently different so that there is no possibility of confusing them.

The imprint "Apud Heredes Joannis Janssonii" indicates that the map must have been published after 1664, although copies are found in atlases with the date 1658 unchanged on their title pages.³ The dedication is to Otto von Schwerin,

trusted counsellor of Frederick William, the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg. Diplomatic missions on behalf of the elector frequently took Schwerin to the Low Countries, and from 1674 to 1679 he was the representative of Brandenburg in London at the court of Charles II.⁴ A dedication to Schwerin would not have been engraved after 1679, the year of his death, and Map 47 may well have appeared some years earlier, probably before 1670, when significant changes occurred in the partnership arrangements of the Janssonius heirs.

4. Ferdinand Hirsch, "Otto von Schwerin," *Historische Zeitschrift* 71 (1893): 193-259. Schwerin's arms as baron of the Holy Roman Empire are in J. B. Rietstap, *Armorial Général* (Baltimore, 1965), 2:747.

Map 48

1. Koeman, *Atlantes*, 2: 507, Me 185 n.
2. *Ibid.*, 2: 438, Me 84, no. 680.
3. I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, vol. 1 (New York, 1915), p. 146; J. B. Rietstap, *Wapenboek van den Nederlandschen Edel*, vol. 2 (Groningen, 1887), p. 85; Tony Campbell, *New Light on the Jansson-Visscher Maps*, Map Collectors' Circle, no. 24 (1965), p. 9.

Tabula Magellanica, qua Tierrae del Fuego, Cum celeberrimis fretis a F. Magellano et I. Le Maire detectis Novissima et accuratissima descriptio exhibetur. Amstelodami, Apud Joannem Janssonium. Nobilissimo, Amplissimoque Viro, D. Gualthero de Raet, I.V.D. Curiae Hollandiae, Zeelandiae, West-frisiaeque Senatori eminentissimo. D.D.D. Ianssonius. [Ca. 1659?]

Engraved, 40.6 x 52.2 cm

Unlike most of the Dutch maps of South American areas in the atlas, Janssonius's map of Terra Magellanica is based on information of a later date than the maps by Hessel Gerritsz in De Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt ofte Beschrijvinghe van West Indien*, first published in Leiden in 1625 (see commentary on Map 37).

Map 48, which is in the second state of the plate, carries a dedication to Wouter de Raet, and in this form the map was used by the heirs of Joannes Janssonius as late as 1666, in the second part of the *Atlas Contractus*.¹ The plate was in existence, however, as early as 1652, when the first state, without the dedication, appeared in the third volume of Janssonius's *Nieuwen Atlas, Ofte Werelts Beschrijvinghe*.² The dedication was probably added before 1660, when Charles II conferred a baronetcy on De Raet, because the arms in the cartouche do not show the addition of a hand and coronet, to which he then became entitled and which appear on at least one other map dedicated to him.³ The printing of the second state of the plate as a separate may be attributed to 1659 or earlier.

Map 48 differs geographically in one respect from the similar map with an identically worded title found in atlases of Willem Janszoon Blaeu of the same period. "Staten Eylandt," the Isla de los Estados to the east of Tierra del Fuego, is shown completely, with its east coast facing on "De G. Brouwers passage," instead of in partial outline with a gap

in its eastern coast, which left open the possibility that it might not be an island but rather a part of the mainland of the unknown Terra Australis. The additional information resulted from an expedition against the Spanish in Chile led by Hendrik Brouwer, who sailed in 1642 as governor general for the Dutch West India Company. His route to Cape Horn lay to the east of the Isla de los Estados, rather than through Le Maire Strait, thus proving that it was a small island and not the tip of the Southern Continent. The report of Brouwer's voyage, brought home after his death and published in 1646, contains no map of this area, but the outline of the island as it appears on Map 48 could well have been based on statements in the journal itself.⁴

Except for this, the geographical outlines and place names of Map 48 reflect no information later than the voyage of Jacques l'Hermite and the "Nassau Fleet," which returned in 1626 from a three-year voyage around the world, having gone out by way of Le Maire Strait and Cape Horn. The published report of that voyage listed "Iohannes a Walbeeck" as "Mathematicus" of the fleet, and it contained a small map, "Zuydsyde van Tierra del Fuego Waerghenomen ende afghebeeldt door Ioannem a Walbeek."⁵ The influence of his outlines and place names is apparent on Map 48 in the southeastern part of Tierra del Fuego. Hessel Gerritsz was one of the publishers of the report, and it is not surprising that the great cartographer of the East and West India companies had an indirect connection with Map 48, even though it did not appear in print until some years after his death.

The content of this map affords an interesting contrast with Map 42, the English map resulting from Narborough's voyage of 1669-71. A profitable comparison might also be made with Alonso de Ovalle's *Tabula Geographica de Chile*, published at Rome in 1646 and compiled by a Chilean Jesuit who presumably had access to some Spanish sources, although there is no evidence to show that his map was ever available to the Lords of Trade.⁶

4. Hendrik Brouwer, *Journael Ende Historis verhael van de Reyse gedaen by Oosten de Straet le Maire* (Amsterdam, 1646), p. 16.

5. Jacques l'Hermite, *Journael Vande Nassausche Vloot* (Amsterdam, 1626), p. [v]. Earlier maps of the Strait of Magellan from its discovery onwards are listed and discussed, with tables of place names, by F. C. Wieder in *De Reis van Mahu en De Cordes door de Straat van Magalhães naar Zuid-Amerika en Japan, 1598-1600*, Linschoten-Vereeniging, no. 24 (The Hague, 1924), 2:73-119.

6. Reproduction in Lawrence C. Wroth, "Alonso de Ovalle's Large Map of Chile, 1646," *Imago Mundi* 14 (1959): 90-95.



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